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## THE NEWEST DARWINISM.

**A** MIDST the many series of incessant changes of which this world is continually the theatre, a deeper consideration of not a few of them will often show us how much less essential novelty they really manifest than at first sight appears to be the case. As with ladies' dresses, as with systems of philosophy, so, even in physical science—in spite of its undeniable and wonderful advance—we are sometimes surprised to recognize in its most modern views the reappearance of old friends with changed names and much modified costumes.

In the old world of powder and patches, before the États Généraux had met in France to communicate to the whole modern world the impetus France had itself received from the nascent "United States," a doctrine of "evolution" was generally received amongst naturalists, different, indeed, from that which prevailed in the middle of the present century. It was then widely supposed that the hatching of a chicken's egg, or the analogous development of any other animal, consisted in nothing more than the growth of what was already perfect, save as to size. It was supposed that every animal pre-existed fully formed in the ovum whence it issued, only that it was so exceedingly minute that no microscope could ever detect it—although Malpighi had mistakenly declared that he had, himself, detected the chicken in a new laid egg. But not only was this believed, but also that the miniature animal already contained within it a still more miniature egg, and this a still more miniature animal, and so on, in a series. This hypothesis was the doctrine known as that of "*emboîtement*." Thus understood, "evolution" was nothing but a process of unfolding



and growth of what already existed fully formed in miniature from the first. This doctrine, amongst the most important supporters of which were Haller and Bonnet, had, however, numerous adversaries, who increased in number as physical and chemical phenomena became better understood. The objections of such adversaries, Bonnet met by sarcasm, saying, "Wise men, who have come to enlighten the world, have violated the simplest laws of logic; they have determined that the time when the different parts of an animal began to exist was just that when they began to be visible, and that nothing they could not see could by any possibility exist."

The progress of science, a greater perfection in its instruments, and reported careful observations, by degrees entirely refuted the supporters of this old view of evolution. Most prominent amongst its assailants had been the celebrated C. F. Wolff, and when the researches of Schleiden and Schwann (with their observations of cells and their notable cell-theory), and the work of embryologists such as Von Gär, Kathke, and others, became generally known, the *old theory of evolution* was routed, and disappeared to give place to the opposite doctrine of *Epigenesis*.

But epigenesis is really, whatever else it may be, a statement of facts, and has long been recognized as such. The highest powers of the microscope, and the most painstaking investigations, made it clear that the ovum is nothing but a single cell, and that by a multiplication of cells and a succession of changes, the embryo is "built up," and by no means "unfolded." In fact, epigenesis has long been demonstrated, and the views of Caspar Friederich Wolff abundantly justified. Evolution, in the old sense, had grown quite obsolete, and had come to be regarded as a curious delusion of the past, when, *mirabile dictu*, it has been practically brought forward again by some of the most recent biologists—the newest Darwinists—though presented to us in a modified and modern costume, as follows:

It is plain, that the succeeding individuals of one species resemble each other, and that the succeeding members of a single family (of a single pair of parents) resemble each other still more. How is this resemblance, this *heredity*, to be explained? The explanation offered is, that minute material particles enter into the composition of the germ, each particle of which helps, more or less, to build up a whole like that from whence it sprung. The adult is thus represented, not as existing fully formed in the egg, but as existing in the shape of minute parts, which, by their junction and arrangement, produce the new individual by processes of infolding and unfolding. Such supposed parts are the "gemmules" of Darwin, and the "plastidules," "unicellæ,"



"inotagmata," "plasms," "biophors," etc., of other more recent authors.

The most conspicuous, and, at the present moment, most influential writer of this school, is Professor Weismann, of Freiburg, in Breisgau, a naturalist most notable both for the number of hypotheses he puts forward and for the small amount of observed fact he makes serve as a basis for the most startling of them. The system of explaining the phenomena of life by the aid of imaginary material particles, we will further consider later on, and, in the meantime, say a few words as to the bearing of Professor Weismann's view on the school of Darwin, and so explain in what "the newest Darwinism" consists.

Darwinism, as it was promulgated by Darwin, has, in fact, almost become extinct, and his disciples have become divided into two conflicting schools, one of which is represented by Weismann and the other by Professor Eimer of Tübingen.

We need hardly remind our readers that long before Darwin, a theory to explain the origin of new species was promulgated by Lamarck. He taught that the transformation of species was due to the effects upon animals of changes in their environments, and new habits induced by novel, external circumstances; such effects being transmitted from parent to offspring, and intensified from generation to generation, wherever such effects and induced habits persisted, and so continued to produce similar effects. It was thus, according to Lamarck, that water-birds became web-footed, that the giraffe gained its long neck, and that mankind came to lose their ancestral tails. The essence of this system is the doctrine that characters induced in individuals by external circumstances tend to reappear in their offspring.

Darwin himself adopted this Lamarckian system to a certain extent. He gave various instances of modifications produced in individuals by changes in their external circumstances, which modifications he believed had been transmitted to their offspring. But his main contention—as the reader, no doubt, well knows—was that in each species there is a tendency to vary minutely in all directions indifferently, and that the destructive agencies (always at work in nature), by cutting off all those individuals whose variations were less favorable, preserved, by only a process of "natural selection," those individuals whose variations were helpful to them, while rigidly destroying the others. Thus, in the close competition for the means of life which takes place between individual animals and plants of the same species, new forms (species) would necessarily arise. For example: amongst the individuals of a species inhabiting a forest or a desert, those which happened to resemble in color, green leaves (in the first case) or sand (in the

second instance), would more frequently escape the observation of their enemies, and so be preserved. Thus, every organ of an animal's body, and the perfection of every adaptation and adjustment of parts, was, according to Darwin, due to nothing but fortuitous, indefinite variations in all directions. We have just seen how color may preserve life, but Darwin also taught that it is often effective in joining a mate (*sexual selection*), and that the colors and perfumes of flowers have been developed by serving to attract insects, which, by flying from flower to flower, convey the fertilizing pollen of one to the receptive part (the stigma) of another—such bright or odoriferous flowers being thus enabled the better to perpetuate their race in the great struggle for life.

Thus Darwin's theory was supported, as it were, by two pillars: (1) natural selection; the other (2), the transmission to offspring of favorable characters gained by parent forms under the influence of surrounding conditions.

Such is orthodox, original Darwinism. Let us next consider the recent theory which has replaced it by what we have called "the newest Darwinism"—a theory which is due to Professor Weismann, and which has found almost universal acceptance amongst Mr. Darwin's disciples.

The essence of Professor Weismann's theory is the immortality of organisms—apart from destructive accidents. He teaches that such as consist of but a single cell, and multiply by dividing themselves into two equal halves, can never die, because each half has as good a claim as the other to be considered a continuation of the parent cell.

As to multicellular animals—that is, all which are not unimolecular—he attributes to them also a sort of immortality. Every such animal he regards as composed of two parts: (1) the bulk of its body, which he distinguishes as the "soma," and (2) a minute quantity of reproductive substance, which he calls "germ-plasm."

It is the latter substance, transmitted from generation to generation by the sexual process, which he regards as alone immortal and as alone having anything to do with the transmission of hereditary character. Therefore, according to him, no modification of the soma during life can possibly be transmitted to offspring. No acquired characters, he dogmatically affirms, can possibly become hereditary.

Thus the system of Weismann takes entirely away from beneath the Darwinian edifice one of the two pillars which we before represented as supporting it. He removes and utterly repudiates its Lamarckian pillar. He is none the less an enthusiastic Darwinian, but he believes that the other pillar (natural selection) is a



sufficient foundation—one, indeed, strong enough to serve in spite of a great deal of whittling down. He must so deem it, since he represents the transformation of species as being solely and exclusively due to minute, fortuitous variations in the germ-plasm, from which future individuals take their origin.

His conception of the relation existing between the soma and the germ-plasm of the successive individuals which exist in the life of a race or family, may be represented, roughly, by the structure of many plants. Thus, in the bracken fern (*Pteris aquilina*) there is a continuous underground stem, from which fronds are successively budded off, grow up, flourish for a time above ground, and then die and decay. The fronds will seem to represent the individual animals, or men, of succeeding generations. The hidden stem will seem to symbolize the germ-plasm, which continues its hidden course, regardless of the short-lived organisms to which it has successively given rise.

This germ-plasm Weismann believes to exist within a special part of a body known as the *nucleus*, which exists within the reproductive cell or ovum. This special part of the nucleus consists of certain minute, complexly-arranged threads, called *chromatin fibres*, which may exhibit a peculiar beaded structure. To these chromatin fibres he now gives the name of "idants," and to the beads which compose them that of "ids." Each such bead, or "id," is again represented as being composed of more minute particles still—the *molecules*. Analogous parts are also supposed to exist in the male element. Now, according to Professor Weismann, each new individual born *must* vary from both its parents, on account of the conflicting influence of the respective "ids" and of the "ids" of its parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, great-great-grandparents, and so on to an indefinite extent. Every new character, every new function, feeling and instinct, every adaptation of part to part or activity to activity, is, he tells us, exclusively due to the preservation, by "natural selection," of such minute fortuitous changes in the composition of the germ-plasm as may happen to be brought about by this conflict of ancestral molecules.

It is this, he teaches, which has given their glorious colors to the butterfly and the humming-bird, to fruits their savor, and to all sweet flowers their fragrance.

But though "natural selection" is thus credited with so wonderful a transforming power, yet another series of changes are attributed by him (and others) to the *absence* of "natural selection." When surrounding circumstances happen to have undergone some change which diminishes or does away with the utility of any special character, then variations in which that character is

diminished, or is even absent, are no longer destroyed, and so this special character tends to disappear. Thus, if we suppose beads of black and yellow to have been developed on certain flies because such accidentally-occurring bands had caused them to be mistaken for wasps, so spared by fly-eating creatures, then if all the wasps of that region were to become extinct, the fear of such insects would die out, and, as a consequence, the black-and-yellow flies would no longer be spared. Therefore, other colors would no longer be eliminated by "natural selection," and different ancestral tendencies would have an equal chance of establishing themselves. Thus, we should have, according to this teaching, a reversion to an average development of characters by an unselected mingling of ancestral tendencies, and this process is known as "panmixia."

It may now interest our readers to consider certain curious natural phenomena—some recently discovered—in order to see whether either a natural selection of ancestral "ids" or the process of "panmixia" can possibly account for them.

Fishes of the group to which the sole and turbot belong (the *Pleuronectidæ*) undergo a very singular change in passing from the young to the adult condition. At first their two eyes are, as in other fishes, one on either side of the head. By degrees, however, one eye changes its place so that both come to be situated on that side of the head which is uppermost when the fish lies on the ground.

Now, it is difficult, indeed, to conceive how such an arrangement could have arisen from minute accidental changes in all directions, as we pointed out four and twenty years ago in our "Genesis of Species." But a special difficulty opposes itself to Professor Weismann's teaching as regards the phenomenon. If, as he teaches, every young animal is the direct and actual continuation of its parents (save in so far as other ancestral influences intervene), how could this curious condition of the ages have ever been first brought about merely from the conflicting influences of the "idants" and "ids" of ancestors, no one of which could have possibly possessed it?

Quite recently certain efts of North America (of the genera *Plethodon* and *Desmognathus*) have been found, in their adult condition, to be entirely destitute of both gills and lungs. All other efts possess lungs when adult, while almost all possess gills at birth, which gills atrophy and disappear as the lungs become developed. How could the direct continuation of the germ-plasm of ancestors such as these ever have resulted in the development of a progeny possessing neither the one nor the other of their two kinds of breathing organ? Certainly, if we suppose that the



action of "natural selection" in maintaining gills and lungs had become lessened through more active respiration through the skin, the "panmixia" which (we are taught) would thence result, could never have called into existence forms so strangely different from that of all the ancestors whose mingled elements had produced offspring so anomalous!

Very reasonable, on the other hand, is the supposition that exceptional conditions—a humidity, etc.—(favoring the action of the skin and rendering that of gills and lungs less necessary) produced the change which subsequently became transmitted.

How great a power may exist in organisms to form or change structures in response to novel circumstances of environment, is strikingly shown by an experiment lately made with the young of the land salamander (*Salamandra atra*). In this species, the young are born alive and have no gills at birth, but lungs instead, where-with they breathe air as soon as they come into the world.

Before birth, however, the embryo salamander is provided with extremely long gills. The experiment just referred to consisted in removing young salamanders from the body of their mother while these foetal, temporary gills were at their largest size.

It was then found that the little salamanders (which had been placed in water) were much inconvenienced by the great relative length of such gills. Subsequently, these gills were lost and were replaced by small ones which were convenient and functionally useful. Yet these secondary gills were novel, special functions, and altogether new to the species in which they made their appearance. How is it possible that such secondary gills could have been due to the "idants," "ids" and "molecules" of ancestral salamanders, none of which ever possessed structures of such kind?

It appears to us certain that it was the novel and changed conditions which directly elicited the growth of these gills and that no rational mind can doubt the existence of a causal relation between such premature birth and residence in water as a cause and the secondary gill growths as an effect.

But there is another proof that the process of development in the frog is not due to the structure and mechanical action of the "idants" and "ids" of its ancestors. For, if such were the case, that process must be repeated in a similar manner in each case, and no new circumstances, or any changed conditions, could be able to modify it. Nevertheless, the metamorphosis of the tadpole into the frog may be delayed, and the tadpole-stage of the animal's existence prolonged merely by a lowering of the temperature about it. Such a modification is manifestly due to the environment, and, therefore, the creature cannot have come into the

world with ancestral "ids," the material conditions of which governed its development !

Again, in all animals above the opossum and its allies<sup>1</sup> (marsupials) the young, before birth, breathe by means of a placenta developed in a certain mode. A "placenta" is a structure formed by vascular prominences from the lining of the uterus, which intertwines with vascular prominences proceeding from some portion of the embryo contained within it. In the higher mammals the foetal vascular prominences proceed from an appendage of the embryo called the allantois, and such a structure is, therefore, called an "allantoic placenta." In the opossum and its allies the vascular prominences proceed, not from the allantois, but from the yolk sac or "umbilical vesicle" of the embryo. Thus, these latter creatures are said to be furnished with an "umbilical placenta."

Such a structure, strange to say, also exists in certain sharks, but in no other fishes known to us. Now, it is impossible to believe there is any special genetic relationship between these sharks and marsupial mammals ; therefore, this structure must have arisen independently in these two very different groups of animals. That it should have done so in each case merely by means of accidental, minute, indefinite changes in particles of germ-plasm can hardly find credence in any mind not strongly prejudiced. It is, above all, incredible that it should so have accidentally arisen by a chance mixture of the "ids" of ancestral animals, none of which ever possessed anything of the kind.

But the improbability, or rather the practical impossibility, of such a biological "undesigned coincidence," has been made yet more striking of late through the discovery of an allantoic placenta in a lizard belonging to the group to which the blind worm (*Anguis fragilis*) appertains. This is, so far as we know, the first discovery of an allantoic placenta in any reptile, and it is impossible to suppose the higher mammalia to be genetically connected with this reptile, and yet that the marsupials are not so. Thus we should be compelled to assume a fourfold origin for accidental mixtures of ancestral "ids."

But the modifications which appear quite incapable of explanation by "natural selection" are so numerous that we have quite an *embarras de richesse*. But space will only allow us to notice one or two more.

There is a kind of skate (*Kaija*), the young of which are hatched within the mother. They are not nourished by a vascular placenta of any kind, but are fed in the mouth, before birth, in a manner absolutely peculiar.

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<sup>1</sup> See our work on *American Types of Animal Life*.



Fishes have permanently (what higher animals have transitively in their embryonic condition) apertures on either side of the throat, which apertures open internally into the back part of the mouth or front part of the throat. In fishes, these are the "bronchial apertures," so called because they open between the solid structures which support the gills or *bronchiæ*, and these apertures allow the water, which has been taken into the mouth, to bathe the gills in the adult condition.

But in the embryo of the kind of skate referred to, an easily traversed aperture of the kind serves another temporary purpose; for processes from the inner surface of the aviduct of the mother find their way through it, and so pass into the fish's mouth, or at least into the anterior portion of its alimentary canal. Then these processes seem to secrete and exude a nutritious fluid, which passes down into the stomach of the young skate and so nourishes it. This is much the same thing as it would be if processes from the inner surface of the uterus of a mammal were to find their way into the embryo's mouth and feed it with a nutritious fluid comparable with milk. How can we conceive of such a structure and process ever having arisen merely through minute, accidental changes in the arrangement or abundance of material particles of parental germ-plasm?

There is, again, a kind of tree-frog (*Nototrema*), the eggs of which, when laid by the female, are taken by the male and pushed up into a large pouch of skin contained within the skin of the back of the female, which pouch has but a small external opening. It is within this dermal pouch that the young undergo their development.

There is another creature of the frog and toad kind (*Rhinoderma Darwini*) which is still more extraordinary in its mode of carrying its young. When a female of this species lays her eggs, the male takes them into his mouth, one after another, and then passes them through an aperture at the side of its mouth into a large pouch, which extends backwards inside the skin of its belly. There the young develop themselves and attain a very considerable size. Is it even possible that any accidental variation in the arrangement or structure of ancestral "ids" of germ-plasm could ever, by the mere aid of "natural selection," have given rise at one and the same time to structures and habits so novel and so extraordinary?

But, according to Weismann's theory, since all structures and functions are determined before birth by the condition of ancestral "ids," no structural change can possibly be produced in the adult structure (*soma*) containing them by anything which happens to germ-plasm, the effect of which on the individual has been ex-

hausted in building it up. Nevertheless we find that castration does, in fact, very curiously affect and alter the form and fate of the soma, though, if Weismann's theory were true, it should certainly not do so. We have an example of such structural changes produced by post-natal influences in the case of castration, which has so notable an effect on the growth of the horns of the stag.

That the direct influence of external conditions acting upon the organism and not merely minute accidental variations preserved by "natural selection" is the main cause of some peculiarities of structure, appears evident from certain conditions found amongst flying and swimming mammals.

Thus, for example, the American vampire bat (*Desmodus*) is a most greedy blood-sucker, and seems to live exclusively on that highly nutritious fluid. In that bat the portion of the stomach which is mainly digestive (the pyloric portion) is reduced to a minimum, while that part which is mainly receptive (the cardiac portion) is so enormously enlarged that it looks like part of a "large intestine." Is it credible that the lives of a multitude of bats have again and again been preserved by minute cardiac enlargements and pyloric diminutions?

In whales, porpoises and dolphins, the skeleton of the hind limbs is either altogether wanting or is only represented by quite rudimentary bones and cartilages. Now, let us suppose that "natural selection" had reduced the hind limbs so much that they had ceased to be externally visible, and their internal structure had become quite insignificant. When such a stage had been reached, it is difficult to see how "natural selection" could have gone further than to produce such a reduction, even if it could have produced so much. For, according to Weismann, there must always have been present a multitude of "idants" and "ids" of ancestors which had more largely developed limbs, and the action of *panmixia* (before explained) must have tended to preserve the hind limbs, so soon as ever their size ceased to be disadvantageous to their possessors.

Let us now consider a few instances of plant structure,—instances which seem to conflict with the theory of "natural selection" now insisted on by Weismann as being the one solitary cause of all the characters which the organic world offers to our observation.

Color is certainly developed in plants quite independently of any utility in attracting insects for fertilization. Thus the hazel and the larch are trees which are fertilized only through the action of the wind, which carries the pollen of the male flowers to fertilize the female ones.



Yet the receptive part of the female flower in the hazel is bright red, as are also the scales of the opening cones of the larch.

More inexplicable still is the fact that parts of lowly, flowerless plants, such as *sphagnum*, *chara*, and species of fungi, *peziza* and *botrytis*, all develop bright colors. These are but a few examples of a multitude of other cases wherein beauty of color, as well as of form, are inexplicable by any action of either "natural" or "sexual" selection. The very same thing must be affirmed as to odors. Thus Millardet, who has studied so carefully the fertilization of the vine, remarks that though it is rind-fertilized (and so has no need of insect visitors), its flowers have a strong perfume.

There are also many plants the conspicuous flowers of which very rarely perform the normal function of flowers, since they are neither fertilized nor bear seed. But they also bear inconspicuous flowers, which never open (sometimes do not even rise above the surface of the ground) but fertilize themselves, and bear a due quantity of seed. Examples of this are found in the violet, *viola sylvatica*, and in the genera *oxalis*, *turpaticus*, *polyonum*, *hydropispe*, *scleranthus*, etc.

It is indeed difficult to see how a conflict between the "ids" of ancestral germ-plasms of plants which never had closed (or *cleistogamic*) flowers, could ever have resulted in the formation of such.

But the great modern generator of biological hypotheses, has already prepared us, by his own act, for regarding with a prudent skepticism his sometimes almost gratuitous fancies which occasionally amaze us by the confidence with which they are enunciated, after bearing an inverse ratio to the amount of observation on which they are based. Some of these he has had actually himself to withdraw, while he has modified others, and the fact that some of his subsidiary hypotheses are no longer maintained by him, cannot but impair the confidence we might otherwise feel in any theory of this naturalist, who is declared to be the one surviving representative of Mr. Darwin and the man upon whom that prophet's cloak has descended. Indeed, it is on account of the unreasonable repute in which he is held, that we deem it necessary to write the present article. He has lately been chosen to deliver the third Romanes lecture at Oxford, has been listened to by a crowded audience and has received the honorary doctorate of that university.<sup>1</sup> We may well, therefore, take a little trouble to consider the views of a man who is thus temporarily influential.

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<sup>1</sup> It is a very singular fact that Professor Weismann refused to accept the professed hospitality of Dr. Herman (the founder of the lectureship), on account of the latter having written to criticize his views. Such susceptibility we might expect to find in the enthusiastic founder of a new religious sect, but hardly in a student of physical science. In this susceptibility, too, however, he resembles his predecessor, Darwin.

One of his subsidiary hypotheses had reference to what are known as polar vesicles. These are two minute bodies of the ovum. In the first stages of the development of the ovum, its nucleus eliminates from its substance, two minute bodies which are these polar vesicles. That is the simple fact. As to their nature and function, absolutely nothing is known. Weismann, however, did not hesitate to declare what their functions were and to decide that the function of one was quite different from that of the other. He ventured on this assertion because he believed that in insects formed by *parthenogenesis* (that is without any male influence) only one polar vesicle was found and expelled—as he believes was the case with the ovum of the drone bee, which is thus parthenogenetically begotten. It has, however, since been discovered, that in the ovum of the drone a second vesicle is also expelled; and so this house of cards tumbles to the ground.

As to the asserted immortality of unicellular organisms, his facts are denied by a very high authority on the strength of that authority's personal observations.

The Rev. Dr. Dallinger, F.R.S., an almost unrivalled observer of minute organisms, has found that in the monads examined by him, the process of fission, after a certain time, comes to an end and is replaced by a fusion between two individuals (a seemingly sexual process) which results in the formation of a multitude of germs.

We venture to think, enough has now been here said, to show the probable value of Professor Weismann's views generally, and the improbability of "natural selection" alone being able to account for the variety and beauty to be found in organic nature; and we may therefore revert to a consideration of the matter with which we began this article—the practical rehabilitation of the hypothesis of "evolution," in the sense of "unfolding parts already existing performed beforehand."

To it was opposed the doctrine of "Epigenesis," which, as a simple statement of fact, is an unquestionable truth. But latent in that doctrine, as held by more modern biologists, was the conception of the formation of organs by means of the physical qualities of the elements of the ovum. Thus it was that this doctrine was able to be so readily modified by Weismann and his immediate predecessors, into a doctrine which relegates epigenesis into the background, if it does not amount to its practical denial.

But there is "evolution" and "evolution," and in the sense in which we believe it should be held, there need be no conflict started between it and epigenesis. We uphold both simultaneously—regarding the idea of evolution, not as *antagonistic*, but as *complementary* to that of epigenesis. We use the term "evolu-



tion" with a predominantly *dynamic* implication, while we use "epigenesis" to denote simply the material results—the succession and order of parts which the process of evolution induces.

Epigenesis may be conceived of as mainly taking place in two ways: Either through (1) external, or (2) internal agencies. Now for the development of the ovum; a due environment is of course necessary—just as due atmospheric and other physical conditions are necessary for the development of a grain of corn. Nevertheless, it is the *internal* nature of the living grain which is *par excellence* the cause of its growth, and such is also the case with the living ovum. The term "evolution" then, as we employ it, denotes that the successive formation of new parts which were not previously existent, is due, *not* to their imposition from without, *but* to their generation from within; yet not to the existence of minute material particles already possessing all the essential characters of those bodies, the structure and action of which they are supposed to explain.

Indeed, hypothetical "gemmules," "plastidules," unicellæ, inotagmata, idiosomes, plasms, etc. (whatever may be their occasional practical use as working hypotheses), will each and all of them be found, when looked closely into, to need explanation themselves, as much as the phenomena they have been called in to explain. By their use the difficulty so often experienced of understanding vital phenomena, is not really diminished in the least, but only put further back.

But in fact neither Professor Weismann, the late Mr. Darwin, Professor Niget nor any other of the authors of those mental images, are to be blamed for the unsatisfactory nature of their proposed explanations. That is but the inevitable result of attempting the impossible. However we may divide and minimize the supposed material elements, the same difficulty will ever recur.

Just as when we seek to explain the physiology of an entire organism by the functions of its several cells, each cell, so considered, becomes but the organism itself "writ small"; so also every gemmule, idiosm, biophor, etc., is but the cell itself "writ small." This must be the case also with "molecules"—for how can the mere juxtaposition in any order, of functionless, similar particles, account for the vital phenomena of growth and reproduction, to say nothing of sensation and thought? However we may play with such images by the aid of a subtle and fertile imagination, the same inevitable and insoluble difficulty will ever recur. All such explanations must, therefore, be unsatisfactory.

Such is the case because in the various activities commonly called "vital," we can perceive various parts of the body under

successively different conditions. But the activities themselves, whatever may be their nature, are not material bodies and are utterly imperceptible to the senses.

Now, we can never imagine anything of which we have had no sort of sensuous experience. Gemmules, biophors, unicellæ, inotagmata, molecules, etc., are terms for mental images of material particles which differ only from material bodies, because they are supposed to be of exceedingly minute size.

They are, therefore, necessarily incapable of representing what is immaterial, and the use of them, for such a purpose, amounts to an attempt to make imaginary figures of things perceptible to the senses serve as representations of things necessarily imperceptible to the senses, and therefore essentially incapable of any such representation.

The irrationality of this attempt is commonly unnoticed, because the effort to imagine an immense multiplication and complication of minute parts and their motions so fatigues the fancy, as to make some persons think that by having had their sensuous imagination thus overwhelmed by a complication exceeding its group, they have really arrived at something more—something of an essentially different nature and capable of explaining phenomena the senses can take no cognizance of. What then is to be done? We may decline to seek for any explanation, and then we may rest contented with the formula of epigenesis which sums up the facts accessible to observation.

But if we seek, as our nature impels us to seek, for a cause which may explain the facts of epigenesis in an intelligible manner, we shall be compelled to have recourse to one of a radically different nature.

Is there any more satisfactory explanation, or must we sit down contented, or discontented, with the operation of epigenesis as a fact?

Reason certainly tells us that behind what the senses can observe, there must be something more, and something in the nature of a *cause*.

To relinquish the search for "causes" is to give up science. Let us then endeavor to ascertain whether anything more intelligible than Darwin or Weismann offers us, is anyhow attainable.

Now in every inquiry, our first object should, of course, be to endeavor to ascertain what facts are more certain and evident, and what consequences evidently flow therefrom. Our speculations and hypotheses must thereby be limited and controlled. Therefore, in studying the activities (functions) of organisms, we should first examine that concerning which we can obtain the most evident or certain knowledge. But of all organisms and of all activi-



ties, none are nearly so well known to us as *our own*. Nothing then can well be more irrational than for us to ignore our self-knowledge, while seeking to understand the nature of living organisms.

Prominent amongst all possible facts known to us, is the fact that we not only think, but can know that we think; can perceive the past as well as the present; can pass our thoughts in review to and fro in various orders of succession, before our present consciousness which, as from a fixed point, can survey such mental possessions. If we are certain that we have a material body (and we think only a diseased mind can doubt about it), it is at least as evident that we also consist of an individual, immaterial energy. Of much which this energy can accomplish we are directly conscious. That it, at the least, exercises a great influence over our body is certain, while our conscious psychical activity shades off into activities of which we are unconscious. Therefore this individual, immaterial energy may well be that which governs and presides over every one of those forms of our unconscious activity, which have been termed "vital processes," since it certainly governs and presides over all our conscious ones.

Here then is an absolutely certain and evident fact which every biologist is bound to take into account, as being the most certain and evident of *all* biological facts. The biologist is a living animal himself, and what is the most certain fact of his own life, must be a fundamental truth of biological science.

But all animals resemble us men more or less—in different degrees—and some resemble us so much, not only in form but also in function, that it would be most unreasonable to doubt that each of them also consists of an individual, immaterial energy; however different it may be from our own, as regards its powers and possibilities.

It is now becoming more and more distinctly recognized that each animal, in the course of its development from the germ and in its subsequent life-history, is somehow dominated and governed by some individual agency. Words uttered by Professor Burdian Sanderson, F.R.S. of Oxford, before the British Association, distinctly favored this view, and Mr. C. O. Whitman, in a very able paper,<sup>1</sup> says: "That organization precedes cell formation and regulates it, rather than the reverse, is a conclusion which forces itself upon us from many sides."

It is this immaterial energy which supplies us with a rational conception of the cause of vital activities, including the development of the ovum, growth and heredity; the knowledge of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Morphology*, vol. viii., August, 1893.

more certain facts of our own being supplies us with a solid foundation for such a belief and provides us with a conception which harmonizes and accounts for the phenomena of nature, although that conception can never be pictured to the imagination. In it we have a *vera causa*, the existence of which is supremely evident in and to ourselves and with which we may, by the more rational analogy, credit other organisms. While satisfying the mind as an intelligible, though unimaginable, cause, it does not in the least tend to stifle or limit scientific inquiry. A practically inexhaustible field for research will ever remain open for the discovery of more and more of those successive hierarchies of physical agents which intervene between the primary cause of each organism's vital activity and its ultimate manifestations.

Nothing here advanced is intended, or, indeed, tends to depreciate the cell theory, as more recently put forward. Let the essence of each living creature be recognized as being an immaterial principle of individualism, and it remains not a whit less true that the various cells of the tissues are conditions, *sine qua non*, of nutrition and growth, and that each whole complex organism subsists only by means of the reciprocal action of its various parts.

And the most minute parts which can be detected and distinguished in each organism will need as much patient investigation by students who follow the scholastic philosophy as by any others, and will be as full of interest and significance to the former as to the latter.

The structure of the cell, its cytoplasm, its nucleus and the complex anatomy of the latter, as well as their interaction and those of the many other parts which, doubtless, still remain to be discovered, are in no way less interesting to the Aristotelian biologist than to him who is unable, or unwilling, to free himself from vain misgivings of an indefinite series of material particles exclusively. But what are the objections raised against this rational biology? There are, in fact, none, and, more than that, the principle which affirms the existence of an animating principle—the Psyche of Aristotle—in each organism is practically admitted by the most prominent modern biologists who ignorantly oppose rational biology because they have never understood it. Thus, Weismann represents his “biophors” as themselves possessing all the primary vital forces, such as exist in living cells. But it we may believe that energy acts in every “biophor,” why not also in entire animals and plants, since the “biophor” has only been invented to explain the energies of such animals and plants? Haeckel, of Jena, again, makes no difficulty whatever in crediting each living cell with a “soul,” or psyche, though he would be horrified at the Aristotelian notion of such a thing as each whole



animal and plant having one. It seems too absurd for belief, and yet the conclusion is irresistible, that those writers deem such "principles of individuation" of their own proposing to be acceptable, because the bodies to which they assign them are (like Peter Simple's wet nurse's baby) "so very small!"

The persistent attempt to explain living activities by mere physical conditions is simply the result of the fact that most modern men of physical science are bond-slaves to their imagination. This, necessarily confines and cripples their reason; for, as we have before said, the imagination is bound down to the representation of things the senses can take cognizance of.

This has been naïvely enough declared by some prominent men of physical science themselves. Thus, the late Professor Tyndall thought, and said, that an ability to "*mentally visualize*" any conception was a necessary condition of its truth; whereas, with regard to what is non-material, an ability to "*mentally visualize*" a conception suffices by itself to demonstrate that it is and must be false.

Nothing is more frequently an object of sense-perception than the movement of solid bodies, and therefore the representation of any action, deemed more than mechanical, in terms of matter and motion, gives rise in many persons to a feeling of relief and satisfaction; as if such non-mechanical action was thereby really explained. Hence images of very small vibratory bodies—"molecular motion"—is too often readily accepted as an adequate explanation of nervous activity, and therefore as the essential constituent of sensation and thought.

Similarly, the force of "heredity," which, of course, cannot itself be imagined (though it is plainly conceivable), Weismann and others attempt to image forth as a mere transmission from generation to generation of solid particles—the "ids" and "idants" of his germ-plasm. A demonstration of the insufficiency of Professor Weismann's hypothesis cannot, therefore, but aid the cause of that philosophy which is most opposed to a merely mechanical conception of nature—it cannot but aid the cause of the scholastic philosophy.

But, Professor Weismann builds entirely upon Mr. Darwin's theory of "natural selection," and it is, therefore, to the English naturalist that we are indebted for Professor Weismann having been supplied with an hypothesis which he has carried to an extreme which is perilous, we believe, fatal, to that hypothesis itself, since he has, most unintentionally, refuted it by a process of *reductio ad absurdum*.

Almost a quarter of a century ago, we ventured to predict in our "Genesis of Species," that Mr. Darwin's theory would ulti-

mately serve to gain acceptance for the principles of the scholastic philosophy. The labors of Professor Weismann go far, indeed, to justify that prediction. A complete study of the mere proof of *growth*, is, indeed, amply sufficient to destroy the belief that nature can be explained by "mechanism." This truth, however, is less obvious than is the inadequacy of mechanism to explain development, and the growth of those wonderful complexities in structure and function which characterize so many kinds of animals and plants, and which so often show the great plasticity which has enabled them to respond so wonderfully to varying influences of their conditions and environments.

But, some persons will object to the whole of our contention, saying that our doctrine is a philosophical, while biology is a physical science, and that the two ought to be kept apart.

We deem it high time to utter a vigorous protest against the vulgar error that the several departments of physical science should be "carefully kept apart" from that higher department of science which (whether it be recognized or not) *alone* gives validity to every other.

Such an assertion is even more absurd than it would be to say, that "mechanics" must be kept carefully apart from "geometry," or "astronomy" from "mathematics." Every tyro knows that these sciences are absolutely dependent one upon another, but their interdependency is as nothing to the absolute dependence of all physical science upon philosophy. Of all facts, the most certain are the dicta of our consciousness, and upon those dicta a rational conception of the fundamental verities and causation agencies of living organisms ultimately and securely repose. This, at no distant day, will be widely recognized, and its recognition will be largely due, not only to Mr. Darwin, but also to his enthusiastic disciples; above all, to Professor Weismann, to whom we are indebted for the last absurdities of the recent Darwinism.

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

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## TESTIMONY OF THE GREEK CHURCH TO ROMAN SUPREMACY.

WE use the term "Greek Church" in accordance with common usage, although it is not strictly correct. There is no ecclesiastical body calling itself by that name. The designation is employed, when it is used in opposition to the term "Roman Church," to qualify a collection of some half a dozen groups of episcopal churches, independent of each other, although in mutual communion, which acknowledge the first seven œcumenical councils, and an honorary primacy in the titular patriarch of Constantinople, who is the successor of Michael Cerularius, and are separated from the communion of the Holy See. This collection of schismatical societies calls itself "The Holy Eastern Church" and "The Orthodox Church." If the term is used in a more general sense, it denotes that part of the Catholic Church which was situated within and beyond the bounds of the eastern division of the Roman empire, and became, later on, a separate realm, under the name of the Greek or Byzantine empire, of which Constantinople was the capital. When, in this sense, the Eastern or Greek Church is spoken of, in distinction from the Western or Latin Church, and not as the designation of a schismatical sect, it denotes that part of the Catholic Church which was not included in the Roman Patriarchate, and which embraced the two great patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch, together with some provinces not subject to either. By degrees the new patriarchate of Constantinople acquired a primacy among those churches which were within or beyond the boundaries of the Eastern Empire; the See of Jerusalem was raised to the patriarchal dignity; heretical sects of Nestorians and Monophysites separated from the Catholic Church; in the course of the seventh century Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem were conquered by the Saracens.

Long before this, Rome had ceased to be an imperial city, the Western Empire had split up into separate kingdoms, and thus the successors of Constantine reigning in the new Rome were the only heirs of his imperial dignity and power in Christendom until Charlemagne was crowned by the Pope in Rome, as emperor.

The new Roman Empire was not the successor of the old, but something quite different. The Byzantine emperor would never acknowledge the emperors crowned by the Pope as his equals. He retained Rome and a considerable part of Italy under his sov-

ereignty, with a viceroy at Ravenna as long as he could, and even entertained the visionary project of bringing the ancient empire of the west under his dominion, to a late period. Consequently, it was the Greek Empire which was *par excellence* the Christian empire, and its seat was at Constantinople. The emperors and bishops of that city, from the fourth century onward, exerted themselves to the utmost to raise the dignity and power of that See to the highest possible summit. It was first exalted from the position of a suffragan to that of a metropolitan bishopric. Next, a patriarchate was carved out of the ecclesiastical domain of Thrace, and of the exarchates of Pontus and Ephesus. Then the first place of honor after Rome was successfully usurped. Finally, the ancient but sadly-decayed patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch, with the new patriarchate of Jerusalem, created in the fifth century, were made subject to the self-styled "œcumenical patriarch." The conversion of some heathen nations added to his domain, and even some outlying portions of the Roman patriarchate were forcibly wrested from it; and thus, at last, all orthodox and Catholic Christendom fell into two great divisions, the patriarchates of Rome and Constantinople—the Pope, as universal primate, presiding over all. This historical development of both Church and State throughout Christendom accounts for the title of "Greek Church," so generally given to the whole body of Christians in the East, who were subject to the patriarchal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Constantinople. It distinguished them, on the one hand, from the heretical sects who had broken off after the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon; on the other hand, this term, as well as that of "Eastern Church," distinguished them from the great body of Catholic Christians in Europe who were immediately governed by the Pope, as Patriarch of the West.

The Pope is, first of all, Bishop of the Diocese of Rome, then Archbishop of the Suburbicarian Province, Primate of Italy, Patriarch of the West, Supreme Bishop of the Catholic Church. He alone has *jure divino*, by his succession from St. Peter, episcopal power over his brethren and colleagues, the bishops of particular churches, who, as bishops, are all essentially equal. The archbishop receives, by his delegation, a limited authority over his suffragans, and the superior metropolitan, whether primate, exarch or patriarch, has a similar precedence and authority over archbishops and their provinces—all these privileges and rights attached to certain eminent sees and prelates being more or less extended or restricted, in different times and countries, by custom, decrees of the Sovereign Pontiffs and the canons of councils approved by them. Among all these metropolitan sees, Alexandria and Antioch held the highest rank after Rome, as being, in a secondary



sense, all Petrine sees. They had the largest share in the communicated and delegated primacy, which belonged in all its plenitude, and by divine and apostolic institution, to the Bishop of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter.

Ecclesiastical authors are not unanimous in their opinions regarding the origin and rise of metropolitans in the church, although they all acknowledge the undoubted historical fact that they were so early that no certain date can be assigned to them. We have no doubt, however, that the opinion which ascribes them to the apostles, and is supported by high authorities, is the correct one. We are convinced that St. Peter conferred on the churches of Alexandria and Antioch their high dignity and authority. In no other way can we explain the undisputed concession of the second place in the hierarchy to the Bishop of Alexandria; for Antioch had been the See of Peter, and the provinces over which it presided were greater and more numerous than those which were dependent upon Alexandria, whose founder was not St. Peter in his own person, but his deputy, St. Mark. These two great bishops were empowered to exercise many functions of superior jurisdiction which the popes reserved to themselves in the West. And although the titles by which the higher grades in the hierarchy were distinguished were not affixed to them from the beginning, yet the reality was there. All chief pastors of churches were called indiscriminately bishops of their respective sees. These episcopal churches were, however, not all equal and independent, but related to each other in an order of filiation, as mother churches and daughter churches. There were metropolitan churches, each one having its group of daughter churches affiliated to it, and these groups were portions of a larger group whose principal see was a metropolis of a higher order, the Roman Church, as the Mother and Mistress of Churches, being the metropolis of the whole world. The bishop of the metropolitan see was therefore, as bishop, possessed of a dignity and prominence corresponding to that of his church. He was, *ipso facto*, the archbishop of the province. The Bishop of Carthage presided over Africa, the Bishop of Ephesus over Asia Minor, the Bishop of Cæsarea over Palestine, the Bishop of Antioch over Asia, the Bishop of Alexandria over Egypt. The Bishop of Rome, sitting in the chair of St. Peter, governing the church which had all the churches of the world affiliated to it as daughters of the universal mother, was, *ipso facto*, Supreme Pontiff of the Catholic Church.

That St. Peter established the Holy See in Rome, and transmitted his supremacy to his successors in that See is certain. There are, indeed, some respectable authors who do not admit that St. Peter bound the supreme pontificate to the Roman episcopate in

an irrevocable manner, by a divine commandment. We are firmly convinced that he did so, and that no Œcumenical council or Pope has power to deprive the Roman Church of its prerogatives as the Holy Apostolic See of Peter. In point of fact, the Roman Pontiff has always had the primacy by virtue of the succession to St. Peter, the first Bishop of Rome. There can not be a higher or more dignified title than this. The more high-sounding titles which by degrees came into use, archbishop, primate, patriarch, sovereign pontiff, merely express in terms what is implicitly contained in the title of bishop, and add nothing to it. The various titles were not deliberately and officially adopted which after a lapse of time were appropriated to the several grades of metropolitans. They came into use, naturally and gradually, as the civil and political titles of honor did in the Roman Republic. At Constantinople, which was an artificial fabrication, a New Rome, imitating and rivaling the Old Rome, all kinds of ambitious and high-sounding titles were invented, to give a factitious splendor to civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries. Finally, the Bishop arrogated to himself, and vainly entreated the Pope to concede to him the title of Œcumenical Patriarch. But it is one of the most striking evidences that neither the ambition of the Roman pontiffs, nor the civil supremacy of Rome, nor the favor of emperors was the cause of the exaltation of the Roman See, that there was none of this ostentatious display and parade on the part of the successors of the Fisherman, whose official title has remained to this day, "Papa," "the Holy Father," "Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei."

The moral impossibility of exercising a minute jurisdiction over the vast territories of the empire, made it not only convenient but even necessary that the Pope should delegate a great portion of his supreme and universal power and authority to the superior metropolitans and, especially, to the patriarchs of the East, reserving only the greatest and most important causes, especially such as related to the patriarchs themselves, to his own court.

The Pope exercised the superior metropolitan jurisdiction, immediately in his own person in Italy, and in the missionary provinces created by bishops sent forth from Rome, somewhat after the same manner that William II. is King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany, there being also in the empire, kings of Bavaria, Saxony and Wurtemberg and several reigning dukes; so the Pope was a patriarch and also a universal primate, having several other patriarchs under his supreme authority. At last one of these patriarchs, the Bishop of Constantinople, caused all the eastern provinces to coalesce into one great corporation, styled himself Œcumenical Patriarch, and finally threw off all allegiance to the Pope, abjuring all communion with Western Christendom and setting up



a schismatical, pseudo-orthodox Church as a rival to the true Church in communion with the Apostolic See of St. Peter. It is in this way that the terms "Greek Church," and "Roman Church," came into general use as the designations of the two great communions, separated from each other; the one by renunciation of the Roman supremacy in consequence of the revolt of the Bishop of the chief see of the old Greek empire, the other by steadfast loyalty to the Bishop of Old Rome and stability upon the original foundation on which Christ built the Church, the Rock of Peter.

These designations can be used in a Catholic sense, yet they easily lend themselves to un-Catholic usage. "Ecclesia" denotes any Christian congregation, or temple of Christian worship. The English word "Church," and the German "Kirche," signifies etymologically, "The house or household of the Lord," which is equivalent to the Greek and Latin "Ecclesia." In their highest sense, these terms signify the "One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church" of the creed, that universal society which Christ founded. But they are also used to denote larger and smaller divisions of the universal Church, and the material temple in which the faithful assemble. We can speak of the Roman Church, meaning the Diocese of Rome, of the Church of Alexandria, Antioch or Jerusalem, of the African, Gallican or American Church, of cathedral and parish churches. It is even customary to give the same name to societies and temples which are sectarian.

This kind of language easily lends itself, however, to the service of totally un-Catholic ideas, and is in the highest degree ambiguous, especially when the Greek Church is put in opposition to the Roman Catholic Church, or even called the Greek Catholic Church in opposition to the Roman Catholic Church, the idea is conveyed to the minds of non-Catholics, that the so-called Greek Church is a society, independent and complete in its ecclesiastical organization, and standing upon its own legitimate foundation, just as the Roman empire, the German empire, and the Republic of the United States are each fully constituted and independent nations. A certain section of Episcopalians place what they are pleased to call the Anglican Church on the same level, in accordance with their theory of a Catholic Church divided into three great branches. Evidently all such conceptions are based on an idea which denies or ignores the true doctrine of Catholic unity. It is the idea of union by the aggregation of bishoprics according to ecclesiastical law, into patriarchal, quasi-patriarchal or national corporations, or into alliances among such bodies, all of which are political or purely voluntary constructions built on the foundation of the Episcopal hierarchy. All other Protestants go further; and reduce the "historic episcopate" to the same category of human development,

while many of them, in like manner, discard the creed and the inspiration of the Scriptures.

The Catholic Church is Roman in the sense that the See of Rome is her centre of unity, and its Bishop her supreme head; but the Church is not Italian, Latin, Greek, Oriental or Western, because it is Œcumenical. It is more correct to speak of the Greek rite, than of the Greek Church, and of the Latin rite than of the Latin Church.

Besides those provinces of the Catholic Church which use the Latin rite, whose Vulgate version of the Bible and whose liturgy are in the Latin language, there are other provinces whose Vulgate version of the Bible is in the Greek language, and their liturgy also Greek.

There are other Oriental rites also, and other liturgies, Syrian, Arabic and Slavonian.

There are eighty-six bishops of these Oriental rites in communion with the Holy See. The great majority of the Oriental bishops, however, are in schism, and some of them in heresy as well. All those who are in communion with the schismatical patriarch of Constantinople make up what is commonly called the "Greek Church" of the modern period, *i.e.*, of the past eight centuries. When the Greek Church of the first ten centuries is spoken of, all the provinces using the Greek language are intended, and under the more general denomination of the Eastern Church, all the other provinces of the great Oriental world are included.

Since the great religious revolt of the sixteenth century, all Protestants, and especially the Episcopalians, have been disposed to fall back on the schismatical Greek Church for encouragement. The ancient bishoprics, possessing an unbroken external succession from apostolic and primitive times, a faith of acknowledged orthodoxy, a priesthood of acknowledged validity, the ancient liturgies and rites, with many millions of subjects, and disowning allegiance to the Roman See, appeared to give a powerful backing to the Western revolt. Many efforts were made to secure the sympathy and support of the Eastern bishops, but in vain. In modern times, these efforts have been renewed by the Episcopalians of England and America, with equal ill success. What success has been attained in gaining some recognition and alliance from Eastern bishops by Protestant missionaries, has been among those sects which are not in communion with the so-called Orthodox Church of the East.

At the Parliament of Religions, Dr. Schaff presented a paper on Church Unity, which brought into the foreground the idea of Catholicism existing in two great divisions—the Roman and the Greek. In his plan of reunion, the first and most important step is the reconciliation of these two great hierarchies.



"First of all, the two great divisions of Catholicism should come to an agreement among themselves on the disputed questions about the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit, and the authority of the Bishop of Rome. On both points, the Greek Church is supported by the testimony of antiquity, and could not yield without stultifying her whole history. Will Rome ever make concessions to history? We hope that she will."<sup>1</sup>

Here is the Protestant contention distinctly stated. The Greek Church is regarded as a great historical monument, testifying to the ancient episcopal hierarchy in the Church, as constituted without any papal supremacy. Whether this hierarchy of co-equal bishops, confederated by purely ecclesiastical law, was or was not of apostolic or divine institution, is a matter of dispute among Protestants. They are all glad, however, to range themselves behind the Greeks in the contention against Papal supremacy, and Dr. Schaff is a spokesman for the whole of them, from the highest churchmen to the lowest latitudinarians, with some exceptions of men who know history too well to fall into the pit which Dr. Schaff has digged for the unwary. "Antiquity," it is claimed, sustains the cause of the modern Greek Church, as in opposition to the Church of Rome. That is to say, that while the Greek Church has remained unaltered in doctrine and polity, keeping on the same ground where East and West formerly stood together in harmonious union, the Roman Church has changed and innovated by inserting a new clause in the Creed, and by usurping a supremacy over the Eastern Patriarchs.

The doctrinal question can be dropped. First, because, if the claim to supremacy and infallibility be justified, the accusation of error in faith against the Roman Church is absurd. And second, because the perfect agreement of the Latin and Greek doctors on the article of the Procession was proved at Florence.

The one question at issue is the supremacy, and we come now to the particular topic of this article, viz.: "The Testimony of the Greek Church to the Roman Supremacy." So far is it from being true that the revolt of Constantinople is justified by the testimony of antiquity and the whole past history of the Greek Church, that the great mass of evidence for the apostolic origin of the Roman See of St. Peter comes from the East. The Eastern Patriarchs, the Eastern Councils, the Greek Fathers and historians, are the principal witnesses, not only to the primacy of honor, but also to the supreme authority and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome from the first to the eleventh century. Ever since the middle of the eleventh century, when Michael Cerularius was excommunicated,

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<sup>1</sup> *World Parl. of Relig.*, edited by Dr. Barrows, vol. ii., p. 1191.

the Greek Church has continued to be a witness to the Papal supremacy. For, it maintains the authority of the first seven councils, of the Greek Fathers, and liturgies, with all their testimonies to Catholic doctrine and polity; it was represented at Lyons and Florence, and its prelates, even in their present state of schism, admit that primacy among the patriarchs has always rightfully belonged to the bishop of Rome.

The historical fact of the universal recognition of the primacy throughout the East, is an irrefragable proof that it was derived from the apostolic principate of St. Peter; that this origin was universally acknowledged from the beginning; that it was understood to imply a true supremacy residing in the successors of St. Peter, *ex jure divino*, and not merely *ex jure ecclesiastico*.

Christianity was of Eastern origin, and was transplanted into the West. Roman Christianity began in the Jewish colony, and in the popular estimation was identified with Judaism, and therefore regarded as a foreign religion. The Gentile element in early Christianity was chiefly Greek. In a certain sense, we may say, that the Greek Church of the first and second centuries was the Catholic Church. The Bible of Christians was the Greek version; the scriptures of the New Testament were written during the last half of the first century in Greek, with the exception of the gospel of St. Matthew which was speedily translated into Greek; the first liturgy of the Roman Church was Greek, and St. Clement of Rome wrote in Greek. Latinity did not begin to supersede the Grecian element in the local church of the Romans, but in Africa, the country of Tertullian, St. Cyprian, and later of St. Augustine. Although St. Irenæus calls the Roman Church "antiquissima," this cannot be meant in the sense of the earliest in time, for, although there may have been a few Christians in Rome soon after A.D. 30, there was no episcopal see there until some years later. Jerusalem was first in time; it was the cradle of Christianity; and it would seem to have had by far the best title to the name and dignity of "Mother and Mistress of Churches." Nevertheless, for the first forty years after its *foundation*, it was merely the ecclesiastical centre of the Jewish Christians of Palestine. When it arose again from its ruins, in the fourth century, it remained a suffragan see of Cæsarea and Antioch, and was not raised to the rank of a patriarchate until two centuries later. When the Non-jurors proposed to the Greek Synod of Bethlehem to give it the primacy, their proposal was scornfully rejected.

Antioch was the first See of St. Peter, the place where the name of Christian originated, the centre from which the missionary expeditions of St. Paul and the other apostolic men radiated, the metropolis of the most extensive and important of the great pa-



triarchates, the seat of an illustrious school of sacred learning and eloquence. Alexandria was another illustrious seat of learning. From the fourth century onward, Constantinople steadily increased in political and ecclesiastical splendor, rivalling, excelling and finally subjugating the other Eastern patriarchates and exarchates.

The first eight Œcumenical councils were all celebrated in the East, within the patriarchate of Constantinople, and four of them in the city itself, all chiefly composed of Oriental prelates and under the protection of Byzantine emperors. The East was the greatest field of intellectual activity and strife, and the majority of Catholic doctors, as well as of heresiarchs, were Orientals. Roman culture, Latin philosophy and literature were borrowed from Greece. Rome conquered by her arms and genius for law and government. Nevertheless, the Greeks despised the Romans as barbarians, and regarded the western world very much as we regard India and China, as the English regarded America in the eighteenth century.

The transfer of the centre of Christianity from the East to Rome is, therefore, an extraordinary historical phenomenon which demands an explanation. There must have been a sufficient reason and an efficient cause for the primacy universally conceded to the Church and the Bishop of Rome. Those who deny that St. Peter, as the Supreme Head of the Church, established in Rome the metropolis of the universal Church and bequeathed his supremacy to his successors in that See, must account for the Roman primacy as the outgrowth of circumstances, of ecclesiastical development, institutions and laws, as the result of a continuous and successful effort of the bishops of Rome to extend and increase their power and to sustain their claim to a primacy by divine right, derived from St. Peter. These anti-papal controversialists, while they agree in their fundamental premises that the primacy was of apostolic and purely human origin, differ widely among themselves in their theories about the rise and progress of the papal supremacy. They differ in respect to the nature of apostolic Christianity and the primitive faith and polity of the Christian Church. Dr. Harnack, Dr. Fisher, Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Pusey and others have different points of departure for their processes of historical construction. They represent, in a general way, several distinct sections of the polemical host arrayed against Rome. Some who attempt to trace the origin of Catholicism and the papacy from the mediæval period backward to their beginnings make the Creed itself the result of a transformation of the Gospel. Others accept the Creed in their own sense as apostolic, with variations of this sense all the way from a point the most distant from the Catholic sense to one nearest to it or identical with it.

For some, the first transformation of polity was a change from the purely congregational to the presbyterian form, out of which arose the episcopal order, which was further modified by the development of metropolitan, patriarchal and papal systems. Others, again, ascribe the institution of the episcopate to the apostles, and the very highest churchmen, with the Greeks, regard the confederation of bishops under metropolitans, primates, patriarchs, and even an honorary precedence and primacy of the Bishop of Rome, as a legitimate ecclesiastical development of the hierarchial order. Not only so, but many Protestants, in the strict sense, consider the papacy as a most useful and even necessary human institution for the whole period of the eight centuries following the epoch of the first council of Nicea. All are agreed that the episcopal hierarchy was universally organized before the end of the third century. The question is, therefore, reduced to this for all who maintain the purely human rise and progress of Roman supremacy: what were the causes of this concentration of power and authority in the Roman Church? what were the circumstances which enabled the Roman pontiffs to assert and exercise successfully their claim to universal supremacy? They may all be reduced to this: that Rome was the capital city and centre of the Roman empire. This fact gave to the Bishop of Rome the opportunity of exercising a wide influence. Again, the great wealth of the Christian community in Rome gave to the chiefs and rulers the means of an abundant and wide-spreading charity which endeared them to Christians everywhere, who were the recipients of their bounty. The unwavering orthodoxy of the Roman Church made it a principal bulwark of the Catholic faith against heresies, and the incessant stream of evangelists who went forth to convert the heathen peoples of the imperial colonies brought these missionary churches into close and filial relations with their Mother Church. Once admitting that the entire hierarchial order in the Catholic Church arose and was formed gradually by a process of development from more simple elements, it may appear probable that Rome might have become, through the operation of causes above enumerated, a patriarchal see, with an honorary precedence over Alexandria and Antioch. Such an honorary precedence does not, however, imply a subjection of these sees to the Roman See. The order of rank and precedence among metropolitans and those superior metropolitans who presided over several provinces, the chief of whom were the great patriarchs, did not involve an order of dependence in ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Each metropolitan was confined to his own province, and each patriarch to his own patriarchate. The patriarch of Antioch had no rights over Asia Minor where Ephesus presided, over Pontus, or the provinces be-



yond the bounds of the Roman empire. Alexandria had no rights over Antioch and its subordinate provinces. Whenever one patriarch invaded the domain of another, his acts were met with a protest and resistance, and were eventually annulled, except in the case of Constantinople, whose usurpations by degrees obtained a legalization *de facto* by imperial authority and the submission of Eastern prelates. As a patriarch merely, and the first in dignity of the patriarchs, the Bishop of Rome could never have acquired and exercised those rights over Alexandria, Antioch and, afterwards, Constantinople, as well as over all the other Eastern provinces, which metropolitans possessed over their suffragan sees. All these rights were prerogatives of a universal primacy, which was a supremacy of authority and jurisdiction, from which all privileges of metropolitans of every grade were derived and was itself of apostolic origin.

The fact that the pre-eminence of episcopal sees generally corresponded to the political pre-eminence of the cities in which they were placed does not prove that the importance of the city was the cause of the dignity of the church. It proves only the wisdom of the Apostles and their successors in selecting those local points and centres which were the most fit and suitable for the radiation of Christian influences into their surrounding spheres. Rome was the centre of the world, and, therefore, it was the best seat for the central power of Christianity. Alexandria was the second and Antioch the third city in the empire, and, therefore, they were the most suitable seats for the two churches which shared with Rome, in a subordinate sense, the dignity of being Petrine sees, which raised them far above all other metropolitan centres. In like manner the other quasi-patriarchal, primatial and metropolitan sees were generally located in cities which had a relative political pre-eminence, and the same policy has been adhered to down to the present day. Still, these pre-eminent rights of certain episcopal sees were founded on ecclesiastical law; they remained intact when the respective cities lost their pre-eminence, and there have been notable exceptions to the general rule. London, Paris, Madrid, Brussels and Vienna have never been the seats of primacies. In the United States, Baltimore takes the precedence of New York and Philadelphia. In ancient times whenever a bishop claimed promotion in the hierarchy because his episcopal city had obtained a higher political dignity the claim was resisted, and the fact that a see was apostolic gave it a greater lustre than any which could be ascribed to any other cause.

No bishop ever claimed to possess authority over other bishops, *jure divino*, except the Bishop of Rome. In the episcopate, all bishops were *jure divino* equal, and the primacy of the successor

of St. Peter was a superiority of a higher order not given by episcopal consecration, nor by lawful appointment to his bishopric, considered as a merely human and ecclesiastical conveyance of episcopal mission and jurisdiction; but by an immediate delegation from Jesus Christ, which He had promised to confer always on the subject lawfully selected and presented to Him as the successor to St. Peter in his Roman episcopate. By apostolic ordinance, the lawful election to the episcopal chair of St. Peter in the Roman Church carried with it the inheritance of the special promises made to St. Peter as the Prince of the Apostles. The Catholic hierarchy being thus established by the divine and unchangeable law of Christ upon the foundation of the primacy and the episcopate, it was left to this hierarchy, *i.e.*, to St. Peter and his colleagues, to the successors of St. Peter in the primacy and the successors of the Apostles in the episcopate to complete the organization of the Church by ecclesiastical law, to give a constitution to the confederation of bishops and churches, by which they should be united in provinces, should assemble in councils, and be subordinated to presiding bishops, holding in their respective circles a place of primacy, in an inferior degree similar to that of the Pope in the universal Church. Manifestly, it was impossible, especially during times of persecution, that St. Peter and his successors should exercise throughout the whole Church personally and immediately all the power vested in the primacy. It was necessary for the fulfilment of the apostolic mission that St. Peter should have colleagues in the great work of founding the Church, empowered to act with plenary authority, so that all their legislation was virtually the exercise of his own supreme power, having at least his tacit sanction, and in accordance with the policy adopted from the beginning by the common counsel of the whole apostolic college, in concurrence with their chief, and which was the carrying out of the commands which they had received from the Lord in person and by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit whom He sent according to His promise to be their guide in fulfilling the sublime mission which He had entrusted to them.

After the death of St. Peter and of the other Apostles, it was equally impossible for the chief pastor, who sat in St. Peter's chair, to exercise personally and immediately the whole care of supervision over the bishops of the world. A large part of it was delegated to metropolitans and primates. The metropolitan order was universally established, and was recognized by the Council of Nicea as existing by immemorial usage. It must have been, therefore, established by the Apostles and the first apostolic missionaries who founded the churches to the remotest bounds of the empire and beyond. The superior dignity and authority of Alex-

andria and Antioch were undoubtedly conferred on them by St. Peter. The authority of metropolitans was in general very limited, jurisdiction was principally in the hands of the bishops, and legislative control over bishops was mostly exercised by provincial and plenary councils. It was universally recognized that the bishops of the greater sees did not possess any authority over their suffragans *ex jure divino*, but only *ex jure ecclesiastico*. Those who admit no higher right in the Bishop of Rome, and who maintain that his universal primacy only grew up gradually, after a long lapse of time, must therefore ascribe its cause to the imperial supremacy of Rome and to the ambition of the Roman Pontiffs, who availed themselves of their advantageous position to increase and extend their pre-eminence in the hierarchy. But this theory is historically and rationally untenable. The primacy of the Popes in the entire Catholic Church was altogether superior to any local primacy, even of patriarchs. It overruled the authority of all the greater prelates, and of councils. It was a true supremacy. The Greek Church would never have submitted to such a supremacy as a merely ecclesiastical institution, and as a sequel of the political supremacy of Rome. It is difficult to see how the Bishop and Church of Rome could derive any dignity or advantage from the imperial court when they were imprisoned in the catacombs and subject to the most dreadful persecutions, from the time of St. Peter to that of St. Sylvester; from the epoch of Nero to that of Diocletian. When Constantine became emperor, he transferred his imperial seat to Constantinople. After him, and during the time which elapsed until the downfall of the western empire, Rome was mostly deserted by the emperors and fell into political decadence. During the succeeding centuries, and until the firm establishment of the papal principality, Rome and Italy were subject to a series of disasters, in which the whole ecclesiastical, civil and social order seemed at times in danger of being overwhelmed, and Rome was for a time a mere heap of ruins. Yet it was during the period between the fourth and the twelfth centuries that the enemies of the papacy maintain that the Roman supremacy developed toward its culmination in Gregory VII. and Innocent III.

The ambition of the Popes furnishes no sufficient reason for the fact that their supremacy was acknowledged and submitted to throughout the East, to say nothing of the West. There is as much reason for ascribing ambition to the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and other great prelates, as to the Popes. Rival ambitions would counteract each other. From the fourth century onward, there were certainly some ambitious prelates at Constantinople, supported by still more ambitious emperors, who aspired at spiritual as well as civil dominion, and were jealous of Roman



supremacy. Nevertheless, Constantinople, although rebelling at intervals, submitted to the Roman supremacy, until the middle of the eleventh century, and twice afterwards renewed its allegiance, viz., at Lyons and at Florence. A pre-eminence founded merely on ecclesiastical law could not have been preserved and extended by the ambition and usurpation of Roman Pontiffs, into a supremacy, without any imperial power to support it. Alexandria and Antioch were unable to keep the rights which were sanctioned by the Council of Nicea, although supported by all the authority which the Popes were able to exercise, and the Second and Fourth Councils assumed the power, without hesitation, to change the ecclesiastical law which regulated the respective rank and jurisdiction of the principal Eastern sees.

A purely ecclesiastical primacy of the Roman Church would have had no secure ground to stand on, against the combined ambition of Byzantine prelates and emperors. Much less could an ambitious usurpation of authority have had any chance of success.

But it was not a rival ambition of exalting the new Rome alone, which placed an obstacle in the way of exalting and extending the supremacy of the Old Rome. Higher motives impelled the great prelates of the East and also of the West to resist all exercise of authority by the Roman Pontiff which they regarded as an abuse or a usurpation, and to defend everything which seemed to them to be an invaded right. In the first half of the second century St. Polycarp steadily though amicably withstood the effort to bring the churches of Asia Minor into conformity with the Paschal Rite of the Roman Church, and a half century later, Polycrates of Ephesus obstinately and not so amicably renewed the contest with Pope Victor. In the middle of the third century occurred the famous conflict between St. Cyprian, St. Firmilian and the African bishops on the one side, and Pope St. Stephen on the other, concerning heretical baptism. Every century has a record in its history of contentions between the Papacy and some portion of the Episcopate. The Holy See has always been victorious, and although schisms and heresies have separated multitudes of the faithful, and many priests and bishops from her communion, the unity of the Catholic Church in loyal allegiance to its Head has been ever more and more consolidated, and has never before been so perfect as it is at the present moment.

This is a wonderful and a unique phenomenon. It cannot be explained by merely natural causes, or by the method in which the rise and progress of great political empires are explained according to the principles of the history of philosophy. The Roman supremacy has been very little indebted to the power and influence which the Popes have held by a precarious tenure as temporal sov-

ereigns, or to the support of the civil power in Christendom, with which they have been almost always engaged in contention, and which has generally sided with every ecclesiastical party and faction in the episcopate which has been in any way hostile to the Papacy. Even during the period of the greatest temporal glory of the Papacy, the dominion of the Pope in the political order was only accidentally and indirectly temporal, but essentially and principally spiritual. During those early ages which elapsed before the formation of western Christendom, the Roman supremacy was purely spiritual, a power in the intellectual and moral order, over the minds and consciences of Christian rulers in Church and State, and of the Christian people. What was the sufficient reason, the vital principle, the active force of this spiritual power? If its supernatural character and divine origin be denied, some adequate natural cause, and some human origin historically verifiable must be assigned. Rome subdued the East by arms and policy. But the supremacy in arts remained with the conquered Greeks. They retained the intellectual superiority, and were the masters of their conquerors in philosophy, literature and the fine arts. The Roman Church had no coercive power over Eastern churches, and sent forth no ecclesiastical proconsuls to govern them. There were no Roman academies to vie with or to surpass those of Alexandria and Antioch. The great fathers, doctors, and other literary luminaries of the early ages who were of the Greek Church outnumber their Latin compeers, and have but a few equals among them. The Roman Christians understood better how to die for the faith than to argue for it; they preached the gospel more by martyrdom than by eloquence. The great advocates and defenders of the faith against heresies, were chiefly Greeks, and the East was the principal seat of the intellectual warfare of giants, whose decisive battles were fought in the first six Œcumenical councils.

It was not as the seat and centre of philosophy, theology, sacred science and intellectual superiority that the Roman Church was pre-eminent in that ancient Christendom, and sent forth that attractive power which caused all the other churches to obey the law of gravitation which retained them in their orbits of revolution, like planetary spheres circling round their sun. Rome was not a successful competitor in the schools with Alexandria and Antioch. She was the mother and mistress of churches, a tribunal, judging and not disputing, in controversies of faith. Her standard and rule was the apostolic tradition, and not any philosophical or theological criterion derived from science and reasoning. Her authority was acknowledged, her decisions were submitted to, and those who resisted were eventually condemned by the universal

Church. Rome triumphed over patriarchs, emperors, councils and all hostile powers. There were schisms and heresies of very threatening aspects ; but they were either extinguished or driven to take the form of sects, condemned and excluded from Catholic communion. There was a chronic reluctance in the eastern prelates to render a full and hearty obedience to the papal authority. But this very fact is an evidence that the authority existed, was exercised and was continually exacting and enforcing obedience, even from the emulous and recalcitrant patriarchs of Constantinople, and from the emperors who usurped ecclesiastical and spiritual authority.

Dr. Schaff's assertion that the whole past history of the Greek Church sustains the claim of the modern group of sects who are classed together under that denomination, to autonomy and independence, and is a testimony against Roman supremacy, is absolutely false. The precise contrary is the truth. The exercise of that supreme authority and power by the Popes which surpasses all pre-eminence of metropolitans and patriarchs, was for centuries chiefly in the East. The great mass of testimony to the Roman supremacy during the first eight centuries, is furnished by the Eastern Church. Eastern Councils, Greek doctors and fathers, eastern prelates and emperors, Greek historians, the records of the dealings of Popes with orthodox and heretical or schismatical bishops and civil rulers in the Oriental Empire, make up a colossal monument, the testimony of the Greek Church to Roman supremacy.

All causes and reasons for this extraordinary phenomenon within the sphere of purely human relations and ecclesiastical law being wholly insufficient, it is necessary to assign another and a higher adequate cause and sufficient reason.

There is but one sufficient reason which can be assigned. This is, that from the very beginning the primacy of St. Peter, as the Prince of the Apostles and the universal Pastor of the flock of Christ—bishops and clergy as well as the faithful—was everywhere and by all acknowledged as a first principle of Christianity, and that the bishop of Rome was the recognized and undoubted successor of St. Peter in his primacy. Those who deny the primacy of St. Peter must give a reasonable explanation of the origin of the universal belief in it. Those who deny that the Bishop of Rome succeeded to the primacy of St. Peter, whether they admit his personal primacy in the apostolic college or not, and whether they admit or deny that he was the first bishop of Rome, must explain the origin of the claim of the Roman Pontiffs to be the successors of St. Peter both in his episcopate and primacy. They must reasonably prove that this claim was founded either entirely, or, at least, in respect to the primacy of the Roman Church, on



illusion or imposture. And besides this, they must reasonably prove how this claim, whether an illusion or an imposture, was so successfully maintained and enforced by the Roman Pontiffs that it was universally submitted to by the whole Church, and especially by the Oriental bishops, patriarchs and emperors.

The claim to a primacy inherited from St. Peter—constantly made by the Popes and admitted by the universal episcopate—was entirely distinct from and superior to any kind of metropolitan, even patriarchal pre-eminence of honor and dignity and presidency over the bishops of suffragan sees in the external administration. It was a special trust of the deposit of faith, of the Apostolic tradition, by the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, constituting the Pope the chief ruler and the chief doctor of the Church, in the commission to preserve and the authority to teach this revealed doctrine to the whole world during all ages. This trust emanated from the Sovereign High Priest and Bishop of the Church, Jesus Christ, and was accompanied by the special gifts of the Holy Spirit which were necessary for its due fulfillment. It made the See of St. Peter the citadel of the faith, the centre of the whole circumference of the Catholic episcopate—the teaching Church, with which every church must be in agreement as the sole, indispensable condition of Catholic communion. By another figure it made the Roman Church the rock and foundation of the whole ecclesiastical edifice. This kind of primacy implies and requires indefectibility. Since the Church subsists principally in its Bishop, the indefectibility of the Roman Church, clearly understood, logically and adequately formulated and defined, is identical with the infallibility of the series of Bishops of the Roman Church, the Primates of Christendom. The entire doctrine explicitly defined by the Florentine and Vatican Councils was, therefore, implicitly and virtually contained in the original and universal confession that the successors of St. Peter in his Roman chair had inherited all the prerogatives of his primacy. The East did not receive the Apostolic tradition, the creed, the New Testament, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, from the Roman and Western Church, much less could it have received and adopted as a principle and a dogma the primacy of St. Peter as attached to his Roman chair and bequeathed to his successors from a source extraneous to itself and at second hand. The streams of Catholic tradition in the channels of the Apostolic Churches of the East flowed immediately from the original Apostolic source. Antioch received its tradition from St. Peter, Alexandria from St. Mark, Ephesus, Corinth and Thessalonica from St. Paul. The testimony of the Greek Church to the Roman supremacy is, therefore, the testimony of a number of original and independent witnesses, who were in some cases re-

luctant witnesses, testifying against their own human and worldly interests.

A complete presentation of this testimony would require a volume, and even a concise epitome would demand a long article at the very least.

This work has been done, however, frequently and thoroughly in the treatises which have been published on the topic of the papal supremacy.

For the present purpose it will suffice to cite a few testimonies to the recognition of Roman supremacy by the Greek Church. Enough has been said to prove that this recognition sprang from an original and indigenous tradition in the Greek Church, and not from any Western source or any subjugation of Eastern patriarchs by the usurpation of the Popes.

The gist of the contention is that the East is an independent witness, whose testimony proves the Apostolic institution of the primacy as derived from the primacy of St. Peter. No matter from what period this testimony is derived—from the fifth, the eighth or the fifteenth century—the consent of the Greek Church to the Roman claim is a conclusive proof that it sprang from the tradition of the primitive ages. And although the Church of Constantinople has no distinct history and tradition during the first three centuries, yet the record of its ecclesiastical relations with the See of Rome from the fourth to the eleventh century affords the most irresistible evidence of the pervasive and dominant conviction of the *jure divino* supremacy of the See of Peter throughout the Eastern world. There were good emperors and prelates, and even some who were saintly, in the series of Byzantine civil and ecclesiastical rulers. Yet during the second and third quarters of the fourth century these rulers were heretics, as were, likewise, several of their successors, from Nestorius to Photius, besides those who assumed an attitude bordering on schism or actually schismatical. The spirit of ambition possessed the Church of Constantinople, and it continued in a career of usurpation and rivalry with Rome until at last Photius and Michael Cerularius consummated the fatal separation of all the Eastern patriarchates from the Roman Church, from which the modern Greek schism dates its origin.

From the fourth to the eleventh century there was a series of acts of submission on the part of the emperors and bishops to the Roman supremacy.

If these are regarded as spontaneous, they argue a hold of the papal claims on the mind and conscience of these rulers which was in the long run irresistible. If, and so far as they were more or less involuntary, they argue this hold upon the general mind

and conscience of the Eastern Church to such a degree that it compelled the acquiescence of the imperial and patriarchal court. Any one who will read the able and interesting articles of Mr. Harrison in two recent numbers of the "Fortnightly Review," will apprehend how impossible it would have been for the Roman Church to have preserved its primacy after the beginning of the fifth century, and to have triumphed, as it did, in the councils from the third to the eighth, in the face of that superb New Rome on the Bosphorus, unless the primacy had derived from an acknowledged *jus divinum* given to St. Peter's chair.

I will now cite two or three instances of the clear and authoritative assertion of the Papal Supremacy in the face of Constantinople and the whole Eastern Church, with the unanimous assent of the orthodox prelates and ruling powers in the state.

At the Council of Ephesus, the legate Philip said :

"It is doubtful to none, yea, rather it has been known to all ages, that the holy and most blessed Peter, the Prince and Head of the Apostles, the Pillar of the Faith and Foundation of the Catholic Church, received from our Lord Jesus Christ the keys of the kingdom, and to him was given power to bind and to loose sins ; who, even until now and always, both lives and exercises judgment in his successors. Wherefore, our holy and most blessed Pope Celestine, the Bishop, his successor in order and holder of his place, has sent us to the holy Synod as representatives of his person."

This language was used in a Council over which the Patriarch of Alexandria presided by a Papal commission. The Patriarch of Constantinople was the criminal on whom judgment was pronounced. The Patriarch of Antioch was his friend and advocate and was keeping aloof from the synod. The emperor, aided by his courtiers, was the protector of Nestorius. The declaration of Philip is not only a testimony to the claim of the Pope to be the supreme judge of the faith and of the accusation of heresy against a patriarch, but also of the universal belief of the Church in his full and supreme prerogatives as the successor of St. Peter. There was not a whisper of dissent from any quarter. And the issue of the Council was the confirmation of the sentence against Nestorius, his banishment, and the excommunication of all his obstinate adherents.

Pope Hormisdas, who ascended the chair of St. Peter in A.D. 514, imposed the following formula of faith upon the eastern bishops after those protracted and disastrous troubles and disorders involving all the principal eastern churches, known in ecclesiastical history as the Acacian Schism :

"The first principle of salvation is to keep the rule of right faith and in no wise to deviate from the constitutions of the Fathers. And because the sentence of Our Lord Jesus Christ saying: 'Thou art Peter, and on this Rock I will build My



Church,' cannot be passed over, those things which have been said have been proved by the issues of events, for in the Apostolic See religion has always been kept stainless. Therefore, not wishing to be separated from this faith and hope, and following in all things the constitutions of the Fathers, we anathematize all heretics, especially the heretic Nestorius, who was formerly the bishop of the city of Constantinople, and condemned in the Council of Ephesus by Celestine, Pope of the city of Rome, and by St. Cyril, the prelate of the city of Alexandria. Anathematizing together with him Eutyches and Dioscorus of Alexandria, condemned in the Holy Synod of Chalcedon, which we follow and embrace. Adding to these the parricide Timothy, surnamed Aelurus, and his disciple and follower, Peter; also Acacius, who remained in the fellowship of their communion, because one who partook in their communion deserved to share in their condemnation. Condemning likewise Peter of Antioch with the followers of the same and those of the others aforementioned. Therefore we receive and approve all the encyclical letters of Leo the Pope, which he wrote concerning the Christian religion.

"We, therefore, as we have said before, following in all things the Apostolic See, and proclaiming all its constitutions, we hope that we may remain with you in the one communion which the Apostolic See proclaims, in which is the entire and true solidity of the Christian religion. Promising also that the names of those who are sequestered from the communion of the Catholic Church, that is, who are not in agreement with the Apostolic See, are not to be recited during the sacred mysteries. This my profession I have subscribed with my own hand, and have presented to thee, Hormisdas, the holy and venerable Pope of the city of Rome."

This formula was subscribed by two thousand five hundred Oriental bishops, including three successive patriarchs of Constantinople, by the emperor, and, three centuries later, by all the prelates of the Eighth General Council, the Fourth of Constantinople.

At the Council of Florence, the representatives of the Greek Church united in the following definition of Papal Supremacy:

"We define that the Holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff holds the primacy over the universal world, and that this Roman Pontiff is the successor of the Blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and the true Vicar of Christ, and the head of the whole Church, and the Father and Teacher of all Christians; and that full power has been delivered to him in Blessed Peter by our Lord Jesus Christ, of feeding, ruling, and governing the universal Church, as is also contained in the acts of the Œcumenical councils and in the sacred canons."

The principal work of this Council, which continued for a year, was the investigation of the tradition of the Eastern Church and

the doctrine of the Greek Fathers, with a comparison between the doctrines professed by the Greek and the Latin Church, in the view of making a harmonious Confession of Faith, which should restore the east to unity with the Roman See and the whole Western Church. The assent of the eastern prelates to the decrees of the Council was a judgment and a testimony that the Greek tradition was in conformity with the authoritative teaching of the Roman Church. In particular, the assent to the definition of the Roman Supremacy is a testimony to the submission of the early councils and the great churches of the east from the beginning to this supremacy. The most learned and distinguished of the Greek prelates, Bessarion, Archbishop of Nicaea, passed over to the Latin rite and remained in Italy. The metropolitan of Kieff established the union in his province, and laid the foundation of the Russian Catholic Church, which has continued, under grievous persecutions, to the present day.

The permanent reconciliation of the so-called Greek Church to the Apostolic See was not accomplished by the Council of Florence. The schism still exists, having its principal seat in Russia, where the czar is the real and governing head of the church of his empire. There are also remnants of Nestorian and Monophysite sects still existing, whose separation from the Greek Church dates back to the fifth century.

Prescinding from the attitude of these sects towards the Catholic Church, they are certainly a great and enduring historical monument of the Catholicism of the first thousand years of Christianity, and a witness against Protestantism. As to their present condition, and the prospects of their being reunited to the centre of Catholic unity, those who are more intimately conversant with the countries of the east and with European and Asiatic Russia and Turkey, are much better fitted to form a judgment and to give information than those who derive all knowledge of the subject from reading works written by western authors. What the future position and destiny of Constantinople may be, we may conjecture with more or less probability, but we cannot certainly foresee. Every Catholic must desire to see the Cross once more elevated above the dome of St. Sophia, and a Catholic patriarch seated on the episcopal throne of St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Chrysostom, St. Germanus, and St. Ignatius.

Whatever signs of a new dawn may appear in the east will be welcomed, and whatever efforts our Holy Father Leo XIII. may make to bring about the reconciliation of Russia and the east to the Roman Church, will be aided by the devout prayers of all his faithful and loving children.

AUGUSTINE F. HEWIT.

### "WHO IS MY MOTHER?"

St. Matthew xii., 46-50; St. Mark iii., 31-36; St. Luke viii., 19-21.

THE text in question was of deep interest for many of the Fathers; in the sixteenth century it was a much used weapon of theological warfare, one day wielded by Protestant hands, and the next by Catholic; and since then every commentator of note has deemed it worthy of his best attention. It appears, though with small differences, in each of the three Synoptic Gospels.

First. We find it in the twelfth chapter of St. Matthew, the 46th to the 50th verse: "As he was yet speaking to the multitudes behold his mother and his brethren stood without, seeking to speak to him. And one said unto him: Behold thy mother and thy brethren stand without, seeking thee. But he answering him that told him said: Who is my mother, and who are my brethren? And stretching forth his hand towards his disciples, he said: Behold my mother and my brethren. For whosoever shall do the will of my Father, that is in heaven, he is my brother, and sister, and mother."

Second. It is given in the third chapter of St. Mark, the 31st to the 36th verse: "And his mother and brethren came: and standing without sent unto him calling him; and they say to him: Behold thy mother and thy brethren without seek for thee. And answering them he said: Who is my mother and my brethren? And looking round about on them who sat about him, he saith: Behold my mother and my brethren. For whosoever shall do the will of God, he is my brother and my sister and my mother."

Third. More briefly, yet with a new detail added, the text occurs in the eighth chapter of St. Luke, the 19th to the 21st verse: "And his mother and brethren came unto him, and they could not come at him for the crowd. And it was told him: Thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to see thee. Who answering said to them: My mother and brethren are they who near the word of God and do it."<sup>1</sup>

The interest attached to the text is due to two questions which it gives rise to: What relationship is signified by the word "brethren?" Is not Christ's indifference to the call of His kin-

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<sup>1</sup> The passage varies slightly in different manuscripts; the differences are not of moment; here Dr. Challoner's translation of the Vulgate is followed.



dred a rebuke to their conduct, in a sense, an aspersion upon their character?

To examine each question would require space far exceeding the limits of a single article; for this reason, and because it is hardly probable that a new word can be said upon the prior one for some time, this paper is confined to the consideration of the *ratio* of the Saviour's action, particularly towards His Blessed Mother.

In this investigation our study must begin by a review of the work previously done upon the text. This may be presented under two heads: 1. The comments of the Fathers; 2. Criticism upon the passage in after times—from the sixteenth century to our own days.

# I.—THE COMMENTS OF THE FATHERS.

A difficulty presents itself at the outset; for if we consider their remarks upon this passage, without taking account of the writings, which, in connection with other parts of Scripture and points of doctrine, treat of the Mother of God, we are apt to conclude that among them there was widespread disagreement as to the character and worth of the Virgin—disagreement in presence of which, a judgment in her favor is not to be thought of. Nothing could be more misleading than this conclusion—an assertion borne out by the frank words of a scholar who knew the Fathers as few men in this century, or in any century, have known them. . . . "For myself," wrote Dr. Newman to Dr. Pusey, "hopeless as you consider it, I am not ashamed to take my stand upon the Fathers, and do not mean to budge. The history of their times is not yet an old almanac to me. Of course I maintain the value and authority of the 'schola,' as one of *loci theologici*; nevertheless I sympathize with Petavius in preferring to the 'contentions and subtle theology' of the Middle Age, that 'more elegant and fruitful teaching which is moulded after the image of erudite antiquity.' The Fathers made me a Catholic, and I am not going to kick down the ladder by which I ascended into the Church. It is a ladder quite as serviceable for that purpose now as it was twenty years ago. Though I hold as you know a process of development in Apostolic truth as time goes on, such development does not supersede the Fathers, but explains and completes them. And, in particular, as regards our teaching concerning the Blessed Virgin, with the Father I am content; and to the subject of that teaching I mean to address myself at once. I do so, because you say, as I myself said in former years, that 'that vast system as to the Blessed Virgin . . . to all of us has been the special crux of the Roman system.' Here let me say, as on other points, the Fathers

are enough for me. I do not wish to say more than they suggest to me, and I will not say less."<sup>1</sup>

Again he writes: "What are we to say of those who, through ignorance, run counter to the voice of Scripture, to the testimony of the Fathers, to the traditions of East and West, and speak and act contemptuously towards her whom her Lord delighteth to honor?"

It is well that these quotations of unquestionable authority be deeply impressed upon our minds, lest otherwise there exist a danger for us; namely, that we should, as already hinted at, shortsightedly balance one against another the passages about to be quoted from the ancients and conclude in uncertainty. Dr. Newman knew these by rote, and yet could in candor write categorically as he has been quoted.

We begin our study of the early writers with those who in treating of our text speak of the Blessed Virgin in terms which Catholics of to-day would never dream of using.

First among these, in point of time, was Tertullian. He writes: "There is some ground for teaching that Christ's answer denies His mother and brethren *for the present*, as even Apelles might learn. 'The Lord's brethren had not yet believed in Him,' as is contained in the gospel published before Marcion." His mother equally is not described (non-demonstratur) as having adhered to Him, whereas other Marias and Marthas are frequent in intercourse with Him. . . . When denying one's parents in indignation, one does not deny their existence, but censures their faults."<sup>3</sup> Plain as these words are, if in interpreting them we overlook two circumstances, they can mislead us as to Tertullian's real meaning. These circumstances are (a) His object, which was to refute Apelles and Marcion, who denied the reality of the human nature of Jesus. For this denial of theirs they claimed warrant in His saying: "Who is my mother?" It was Tertullian's intent to make clear that there was no such warrant; (b) He did not advance this interpretation as absolute; he would as willingly allow another which he thus proposes: "Christ, too, is wont to do to the utmost what He enjoins on others. How strange then would it certainly have been, if while He was teaching others not to esteem mother, or father, or brothers as highly as the word of God, He were Himself to leave the word of God as soon as His mother and His

<sup>1</sup> A letter addressed to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., on occasion of his "Eirenicon," published in the second volume of *Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching Considered*, p. 24. Improvement in our theological text-books has been earnestly urged of late by prominent churchmen. In line with such a movement would be the making of this "Letter" a leading section in the tract *De Beata Maria*.

<sup>2</sup> John vii., 5.

<sup>3</sup> *De Carne Christi*, vii.

brethren were announced to Him! *He denied His parents then in the sense in which He has taught us to deny ours—for God's sake.*"<sup>1</sup> Hence this great writer may not be classed as unequivocally expounding the text to the detriment of the Virgin. Indeed, Dr. Newman could not use his words in the present instance as illustrating the distinction between doctrinal tradition and personal opinion in the Fathers, because it was not clear to him that Tertullian "included the Blessed Virgin in the unbelief he imputes to our Lord's brethren; on the contrary, he expressly separates her off from them."<sup>2</sup>

If Tertullian was first in point of time among the Fathers who admitted a possible reproach to the mother in the phrase of the Son, Chrysostom was foremost in the emphasis of his arraignment of Mary for sinning weakly and womanly. "I should not be candid," writes Dr. Newman, "unless I simply admitted that it (the saint's opinion), is as much at variance with what we hold, as it is *solitary and singular* in the writings of antiquity. The saint distinctly and (*pace illius*) needlessly, imputes to the Virgin Mary, on the occasion in question, the sin or infirmity of vainglory."<sup>3</sup>

The remarkable passage, as far as it serves the present purpose, runs in this wise: "To-day we learn something else even further, viz., that not even to bear Christ in the womb, and to have that wonderful childbirth, is any gain without virtue. And this is especially true from this passage, 'As he was yet speaking to the multitude, behold His mother and His brethren stood without, seeking to speak to Him.' . . . This He said not as ashamed of His mother, nor as denying her who bore Him, for had He been ashamed He had not passed through that womb, but as showing that there was no profit to her thence, unless she did all that was necessary. For what she attempted came of overmuch love of honor; for she wished to show to the people that she had power and authority over her Son, in nothing even, as yet, having given herself airs (*φαναζομενη*) about Him. Therefore she came thus unseasonably. Observe then her and their rashness (*ἀπονοτιαν*). . . . Had He wished to deny His mother, then He would have denied when the Jews taunted Him with Her.<sup>4</sup> But no; He shows such care of her as to commit her as a legacy on the cross itself to the disciple whom He loved best of all, and to take anxious oversight of her. If He does not the same now, it is for her good and that of His brethren. They thought of Him as mere man, and man gloried in Him accordingly. He attacked this weakness not to expose,

<sup>1</sup> *De Carne Christi*, vii.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglican Difficulties*, vol. ii., p. 150 (Longmans, 1888). Tertullian's alternate exposition contains in *semine* the view Dr. Newman espouses as his own, *vide infra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> John vi., 42; Matthew xiii., 55.



but to rid them of it. And consider not only the words which convey the considerate rebuke, but also the boldness and forwardness of His brethren, and He who utters it . . . and what He aims at in uttering it; not, that is, as wishing to cast her into perplexity, but to release her from a most tyrannical affection (*παθος*), and to bring her gradually to the fitting thought concerning Him, and to persuade her that He is not only her son, but also her master."<sup>1</sup>

In these last words one would imagine that the saint, forgetting in presence of Mary his normal bent to deal severely with women, was softening somewhat; harshly as he speaks, he yet insists that on the part of Jesus the rebuke was "of the mildest."

Here it is allowable to note that neither Chrysostom nor Tertullian has eased the text of its difficulty; shifted it they certainly have. This aspect of the case will be dilated upon when the Protestant exegesis is reviewed.

We may now turn, with pleasure, to more favorable patristic comment. Few Fathers are quoted, for not so many of the earlier ones dealt with this text, and among these some but repeated what one or more of the others said.

St. Ambrose's homily is: *Mater et fratres mei, hi sunt qui verbum Dei audiunt et faciunt*. "He who practices virtue, and is himself an example of it, fills a two-fold office: he is at once law-giver and observer of the law. The Son of God, about to publish the precept that he who leaves not father and mother is unworthy of His discipleship, is Himself the first to consummate the sacrifice; not that He would refuse due reverence to His mother (for Himself it was who gave command: He that honors not father and mother let him die the death (Exod., xx.), but that He acknowledges a debt to His Father's ministry even greater than to His mother's love. Nevertheless, not slightly (injuriöse) are parents to be repelled; it is merely to teach us, then, that spiritual bonds are of holier sort (religiosiores) than fleshly."<sup>2</sup>

It is as though St. Ambrose repeated Tertullian's axiomatic word: "He denied His parents, then, in the sense in which he has taught us to deny ours, for God's sake"; but in St. Ambrose there is no room for even a hint that the mother was at fault.

St. Jerome seeing through to the real difficulty of the text, endeavors to dislodge it with his wonted skill: "The Lord being busy in the ministry of speaking, instructing the multitude, fulfilling His duty as a preacher, mother and brethren come, and stand outside, longing to speak with Him. Then a certain one announces to the Saviour that His mother and brethren are outside looking

<sup>1</sup> St. Chrysostom, Hom. 44, in Matth.; 21 in Joan.

<sup>2</sup> *Expositio Evang. Sec. Luc.*, lib. vi., No. 36.

for Him. To me it would seem that the fellow (iste) who spake *did not make the announcement ingenuously nor without forethought*; he would entrap the Saviour into preferring flesh and blood to His higher ministry. Wherefore the Lord, not to deny mother and brethren, *but to show the snare*, extends His hands over His disciples, saying: 'Ecce mater mea et fratres mei. Quicumque enim fecerit voluntatem Patris mei, qui in coelis est, ipse meus frater et soror, et mater est.'

Later Fathers, after the fashion of Scripture-elucidation common in their day, take, if one may be permitted to use a paradox, a figurative sense of the text as its literal meaning. St. Gregory the Great, for example, renders it thus: "Jesus our Creator and Redeemer dissimulates His mother, and assigns those as His relations who are not of His flesh but of His spirit, saying: 'Who is my mother and who are my brothers?' Quicumque enim fecerit, etc. . . . In which words He tells us what else but this, that He will acknowledge as of kinship with Him the faithful many converted from Gentilism; but Judea, whence He took His flesh, He will not own? Therefore, as His mother, when He would not, as it were, own her, was forced to stand without; in likewise the synagogue, not looking to His authority, thinking to keep the law, destroys its spirit, and stands without on guard over the dead letter."<sup>1</sup>

In instituting this comparison, St. Gregory did not mean the least reflection upon the Blessed Virgin. Hence, elsewhere, he speaks of Mt. Ephraim first as a figure of heaven, and then of "the most Blessed Mary ever Virgin Mother of God; a mountain indeed was she by the dignity of her election, looming far above every other mere creature."<sup>2</sup>

In other Fathers who have not treated of the verses we are engaged upon, there are, nevertheless, expressions which indicate clearly, as far as the mother of Jesus is concerned, what their exposition, had they given one, would have been. There is the word of St. Augustine, who, having noted that all men have sinned, subjoins: "Except the Virgin Mary, concerning whom for the honor of the Lord, I wish no question to be raised at all when we are treating of sins." "The unsullied shell," St. Proclus designates her, "which contains the pearl of great price." It is needless to repeat the more numerous testimonies which could be presented. The interested reader is confidently referred to the second section of chapter the fourth in Dr. Newman's "Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine" (from which the last extracts are taken), where he will find a masterly summary of them. An

<sup>1</sup> *XL. Hom. in Evang.*, lib. i., hom. iii.

<sup>2</sup> *Qu. i., Reg. Exposit. nes.*, lib. i., cap. i., No. 5.

outcome, surely, of our own incomplete study is to realize how this Father of later days could fearlessly write: "In particular, as regards our teaching concerning the Blessed Virgin, with the Fathers I am content. . . . Here, let me say, as on all other points, the Fathers are enough for me."

## II.—CRITICISM UPON THE PASSAGE IN AFTER TIMES, FROM THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO OUR OWN DAYS.

Christ's words, "Who is my mother," etc., once the leaven of religious trouble in the sixteenth century had begun to work powerfully, could not but become a source of contention between Protestants and Catholics. There is no need to rehearse the words of those who left the Mother Church then, if we would obtain an adequate notion of their comments. Their posterity, alas, reproduce as well their bitterness as their exegesis; and to-day, in their commentation, even scholarly men are as abusive as fanatics or demagogues. It were pleasanter could Protestant exposition of the text, free of distortion of and animadversion upon Catholic teaching be presented, but this seems hardly possible.

Would that the extracts about to be offered did not render this remark necessary!

Dr. Edersheim, an Oxford scholar of rare Talmudic erudition, writes: "Without going so far as, with some of the Fathers, to see pride or ostentation in this that the Virgin Mother summoned Jesus to her outside the house, since the opposite might as well have been her motive, we cannot but regard the words of Christ as the sternest prophetic rebuke of all Mariolatry, prayer for the Virgin's intercession, and, still more, of the strange doctrines about her freedom from actual and original sin up to their prurient sequence in the dogma of the 'Immaculate Conception.'"<sup>1</sup>

In like strain are the words of Dean Alford: "All these characteristics of the mother of our Lord are deeply interesting, both in themselves and as building up, when put together, the most decisive testimony against the fearful superstition which has assigned to her the place of a goddess in the Roman mythology."<sup>2</sup>

Misunderstanding, not to say misrepresentation, infects or completes Protestant comment, even when this goes not much farther than to coincide with Catholic opinion. The Rev. Dr. Plumptre writes: "The motive which led the mother and the brethren to speak to the Lord on this occasion lies on the surface of the narrative. Never before in His Galilean ministry had He stood out in such open antagonism to the scribes and Pharisees of Capernaum

<sup>1</sup> *The Life and Times of Jesus, the Messiah*, vol. i., p. 577.

<sup>2</sup> Greek Testament in Matt. xii.



and Jerusalem. It became known that they had taken counsel with the followers of the tetrarch (Herod Antipas) against His life. Was He not going too far in thus daring them to their uttermost? Was it not necessary to break in upon the discourse which was so keen and stinging in its reproofs? The tone of protest and, as it were, disclaimer, in which He now speaks of this attempt to control and check his work, shows what their purpose was. . .

. . . *Behold my mother and my brethren.* The word asserts in its strongest form the truth which we all acknowledge, that though relationships involve duties which may not be neglected, spiritual relationships, the sense of brotherhood in a great cause, of devotion to the same great Master, are above them, and that when the two clash (as in the case supposed in chap. x., 37<sup>1</sup>) the latter must of right prevail. . . . The words have naturally occupied a prominent position in the controversial writings of Protestants against what has been judged by them to be the idolatrous worship of the Virgin Mother by the Church of Rome, and it is clear that they have a very direct bearing on it. They do exclude the thought that her intercession is mightier to prevail than that of any other pure or saintly soul. Though spoken with no apparent reference to the abuses of later ages, the words are a protest, all the stronger because of the absence of such reference, against the excess of reverence which has passed into a *cultus*, and the practical adoration of dressed-up dolls into which that cultus has developed."<sup>2</sup>

These extracts fairly set forth Protestant views upon the text. Should an important detail be omitted, the contents of the last part of this paper are apt to supply it.

If we turn to the work of Catholic scripturists, we find that they have used to good purpose the learning inherited from antiquity, and even added to it. First among these up to his time was Joannes Maldonatus of the Society of Jesus. He offers an ingenious if somewhat far-drawn interpretation. He marks that the second evangelist does not say that Christ was beside Himself, but that *His brethren said so*.<sup>3</sup> Thence he infers: "It is not to be thought that they said so and really meant so; it was simply a pretext of theirs to deliver Christ out of the hands of the Phari-

<sup>1</sup> "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me."

<sup>2</sup> *The Handy Commentary*, St. Matthew, xii., 46.

<sup>3</sup> St. Mark, having named the Twelve whom Jesus chose to be with Him, tells of events following closely upon the Sermon on the Mount: multitudes so crowded about the house whither Jesus had gone that He or His apostles "could not so much as eat bread. And when his friends had heard of this they went out to lay hold on him; for they said: he is become mad,"—Mark iii., 21. The chapter ends with the verses of our text.

sees, for they had heard of their designs upon Him.<sup>1</sup> They came then filled with alarm for His safety, bringing His mother that they might the surer move Him. And so they would interrupt Him, even importune Him, for they dread an instant danger—nay, while He is speaking, the enemy may away with Him.” Christ would not have Himself interfered with, uttering the pregnant words: “Who is my mother? . . . Not that He denies His parents according to the flesh,” repeats Maldonat from the Fathers, “but He gives nobler rank to those according to the spirit . . . not denying the blessedness of that womb, but asserting the greater happiness of the mind which hears the word of God and fulfils it; not putting others above His own mother, but preferring His mother under one aspect to His mother under another, His mother doing God’s word to His mother bearing Him in her womb or nourishing Him at her breast. For, therefore, is the mother of Christ most blessed of all, in that, above all, she heard the word of God and believed it.<sup>2</sup> . . . Although by her body she was His real mother and James, Josés, Judas and Simon by their blood were of kin, nevertheless much more perfectly and with greater merit were they His relatives by this bond, that they did the will of His Father, who is in Heaven.”<sup>3</sup>

An able living commentator, the Abbé Fillion, S. S., Professor of Sacred Scripture in the Seminary of Lyons, well represents the general exegesis of the present time, for which reason, though at the risk of some repetition, it is thought worth while to quote him: “*Quærentes loqui ei*. What did they wish to say to Him? The motive of this visit, which urged them to solicit Him pressingly, omitted by St. Matthew and St. Luke, is indicated in the singular expression of the second evangelist: *for they said, He is become mad*. Having learned that Jesus, in His exhaustless charity was giving Himself so wholly to the multitudes, that He sacrificed even the moments for taking bare nourishment, they cry out that He is beside Himself, and they come to lay hold upon Him, and to carry Him away with them. . . . We hasten to add, that not all near to Jesus had part in this appreciation of His actions. . . . The Blessed Virgin never let herself be deceived as to the work and character of her Son. Word coming to her that the position of Jesus was not without danger, she sought Him then, as she did later on in another hour of peril. For the rest, it is possible that ‘the brethren’ were not well disposed towards Him.—(John, vii.,

<sup>1</sup> “And the Pharisees going out made a consultation against him, how they might destroy him.”—Matt. xii., 15.

<sup>2</sup> “And blessed art thou that hast believed, because those things shall be accomplished that were spoken to thee by God.”—Luke i., 45.

<sup>3</sup> Comm. in iv. Evang. Joannis Maldonati, in Matt. xii., 46.

5.) It is equally possible, that they had hurried to Him rather to solace and protect. . . . *At Ipse respondens.* . . . At first sight, the Lord's answer would appear hard upon His mother and His relations. It loses this semblance if we bear in mind . . . that it was not addressed to these, but to those of His hearers who had not hesitated to interrupt Him, *dicenti sibi*; . . . and that the Saviour wished to give a lesson of lofty disengagement from earthly affections, and of attachment to the concerns of Heaven—to God's interests. 'Non spernat matrem, sed anteponit Patrem.'—(Bengel). 'Ostendit se paternis ministeriis amplius quam maternis affectibus debere.'—St. Ambrose."<sup>1</sup>

An important addition to the Catholic literature upon the text, is Dr. Newman's fruitful unfolding of thoughts, which cover several verses in the Gospel, referring to the Virgin: "I observe, then, that when Our Lord commenced His ministry, and during it, as one of His chief self-sacrifices, He separated Himself from all ties of earth, in order to fulfil the typical idea of a teacher and priest, and to give an example to His priests after Him; and especially to manifest by His action the cardinal truth, as expressed by the prophet, 'I am the Lord, and there is no Saviour beside Me.' . . . To this, His separation even from his mother, He refers by anticipation, at twelve years old, in His words, 'How is this that you sought me? Did you not know that I must be about My Father's business?' . . . The separation from her, with whom He had lived thirty years and more, was not to last beyond the time of His ministry. She seems to have been surprised when she first heard of it, for St. Luke says, on occasion of His staying in the temple, 'they understood not the words which He spake to them.' Nay, she seems hardly to have understood it at the marriage-feast; but He, in dwelling on it more distinctly than, implied also, that it was not to last long. He said, 'What have I to do with thee? my hour is not yet come,' that is, the hour of his triumph, when His mother was to take her predestined place in His kingdom. In saying the hour was not come, He implied that the hour would come when He would have to do with her, and she might ask and obtain from Him miracles. Accordingly, St. Augustine thinks that that hour had come, when He said upon the cross, 'consummatum est,' and after this ceremonial estrangement of years, He recognized His mother, and committed her to His beloved disciple. Thus, by marking out the beginning and end of the period of exception, during which she could not exert her influence upon Him, He signifies more clearly by the contrast,

<sup>1</sup> *La Sainte Bible*, Paris, P. Lithielleux, Editeur. "Commentaries on the Four Evangelists."



that her presence with Him, and her power, was to be the rule of His kingdom. In a higher sense than He spake to the apostles, He seems to address her in the words, 'Because I have spoken these things, sorrow hath filled your heart. But I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no man shall take from you.'"<sup>1</sup>

Whatever critical value may ultimately be set upon these words, there is no religious soul who, having read them, will not feel grateful to the saintly man for having penned them.

Our historical view need not be lengthier; the chief work of the past and the present lies now within our field of vision, and were closer inspection welcome, the study yet to be made may allow opportunity for it.

### III.—DIFFICULTIES IN THE VARIOUS EXPLANATIONS, AND AN ATTEMPT TO SOLVE THEM.

"Does any one of the explanations proposed remove *all* difficulty?"

As noted previously, Tertullian and St. Chrysostom, and this holds true of most Protestant writers as well, shift the problem, but do not ease the text of all encumbrance. For, if there be anything of rebuke or disapprobation in Christ's words to His mother, the rebuke or disapprobation, notwithstanding Chrysostom's word that it was "of the mildest," is very grave at first glance; it is as if He disregarded entirely, not to say disallowed, motherhood's claims; and hence Marcion and Apelles could persuade men that the words bore evidence in favor of their heresies. Then weigh the circumstances in which they were uttered—multitudes, composed of men, women, and children, of well-wishers and ill-wishers, were present, and the occasion was a solemn one. Now such a rebuke, so circumstanced, from Him, "Who was obedient," to her who had "found grace with God," and was to be for aye "blessed among women," cannot be admitted. Had he spoken in this sense, He would have outraged one of the most deeply-rooted and praiseworthy of Jewish sentiments; He would have exposed Himself to *popular* as well as Pharisaic detestation; or if He had avoided this, He would have laid his mother open to the crowd's slighting, sneering comment. Even at the present day, an Israelite feels this instinctively, and because of the force of this sentiment Professor Edersheim, though writing unscholarlike, and abusively, of Catholic opinion, at bottom, almost adopts it, being compelled to say: "On the other hand, we also remember the deep reverence among the Jews for parents, which found even exaggerated expres-

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Dr. Pusey, *Anglican Difficulties*, vol. ii., note 3, § 6, par. 2.

sion in the Talmud.<sup>1</sup> And we feel that, of all in Israel, He who was their king, could not have spoken nor done what might seem even disrespectful to a mother. There must have been higher meaning in his words. As Bengel aptly puts it, "He contemns not the mother, but He places the Father first."<sup>2</sup>

Every one feels that there cannot have been so violent an antithesis between the son's treatment of His mother during His public ministry, and His treatment of her during the thirty years at Nazareth.<sup>3</sup> And here may be noticed the weakness in Dr. Newman's otherwise admirable exposition; even in his exegesis, Christ's action would have been subject to misapprehension by the many, who could not be expected to distinguish between a "ceremonial estrangement of years" and the face value of his procedure.

Unsatisfactory as these views must be, on the other hand one may not deny that we are satisfied with the general Catholic interpretation, not because we feel assured that it solves the difficulties just dwelt upon, but because it is the best so far urged. Is there a way of relieving it of these difficulties, which, it may be remarked, are of a kind to take on readily the aspect of "objections?"

The following considerations are offered as an attempt in this line.

1. St. Matthew and St. Mark narrate the incident as an interruption occurring in one of Christ's most outspoken arraignments of Pharisaism. St. Luke, though seeming to recall it in another connection, places it, withal, as happening when Jesus is surrounded by crowds, and in that period of His ministry when these crowds were sure of their quota of watching Pharisees and their allies.

2. These were already conspiring to undermine His influence—even over those who appeared most liable to it. They tamper with his own disciples. "Why doth your Master eat and drink with publicans and sinners?"<sup>4</sup> By them the disciples of the Baptist are inoculated with distrust, so that they come, saying, "Why do we and the Pharisees fast often, but Thy disciples do not fast?"<sup>5</sup> Indeed so rapidly did their hatred ripen, that a consultation was held to devise means for ridding themselves of Him for good. "And the Pharisees going out immediately made a consultation with the Herodians against Him, how they might destroy Him."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He refers to the incident recorded, amongst others, of some one coming "to kiss R. Jonathan's feet, because he had induced filial reverence in his son."—*The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. i., p. 567.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 577. How nearly this writer comes back to the Catholic position is shown by the fact, that the Abbé Fillion quotes the same word from Bengel to summarize his interpretation!

<sup>4</sup> Mark, ii., 16.

<sup>5</sup> Matt., ix., 14.

<sup>3</sup> St. Luke, ii., 51, 52.

<sup>6</sup> Mark, iii., 6.

Hence no occasion of arousing the suspicions of the people in His regard was lost. At one time they question His orthodoxy. "Behold, why do they (Thy disciples) on the Sabbath day that which is not lawful?"<sup>1</sup> At another, they attributed His extraordinary powers to the evil one. "He hath Beelzebub, and by the prince of devils He casteth out devils."<sup>2</sup> They try to make Him appear as contradicting Moses directly. "And they say to Him: Master, this woman was even now taken in adultery. Now Moses in the law commanded us to stone such a one. But what sayest thou?"<sup>3</sup>

Is it to be imagined, then, that they would lose an opportunity of ridiculing and disparaging Him?

3. Whenever Nazareth (the supposed place of His birth), or His kindred are referred to, it is almost always, if not always, for the purpose of throwing discredit or contempt upon Himself. Thus, when Jesus says: "I am the living bread which came down from Heaven," the sneering comment is: "Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? How then saith He, 'I came down from Heaven?'"<sup>4</sup>

When teaching in the synagogues of His own country, hindrances to His work are placed by the questions—"Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not His mother called Mary, and His brethren James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Jude; and His sisters, are they not all with us? Whence therefore hath He all these things? And they were scandalized in His regard."<sup>5</sup>

In Jerusalem the same story is repeated: "We know this man whence He is; but when the Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence He is."<sup>6</sup> The "guileless Nathaniel" could not keep back the query, "Can anything of good come from Nazareth?"<sup>7</sup>

4. It is by the light of these considerations that the text under examination should be read. His malevolent enemies planned to turn to their advantage the presence of the simple kinsfolk of Jesus. As St. Jerome surmised "he"<sup>8</sup> (or "they")<sup>9</sup> "who spake did not make the announcement ingenuously; he would entrap the Saviour;" the news came from the party of the opposition, and it was intended to serve no good purpose. The motive the Virgin and the brethren had in coming, is entirely beside the question, although it should be said, there is no hint in the text that it was blameworthy; the fact that they had come seeking to speak to Jesus was the thing of moment. And they came, as the conspirators thought, opportunely for them. Just previously, Jesus had

<sup>1</sup> Mark, ii., 24.

<sup>2</sup> Mark, iii., 22.

<sup>3</sup> John, viii., 4, 5.

<sup>4</sup> John, vi., 42.

<sup>5</sup> Matt., xii., 55.

<sup>6</sup> John, vii., 27.

<sup>7</sup> John, i., 46.

<sup>8</sup> Matt., xii., 47.

<sup>9</sup> Mark, iii., 32; the explanation justifies both the singular and the plural.



foiled their effort to stigmatize him as a Sabbath breaker, for having cured the withered hand of a paralytic; and had shown the groundlessness of their awful accusation that by the prince of devils He cast out devils. Failing to overreach Him by charge and argument, why not call ridicule to their rescue? To down Him was the thing, it mattered not how; and what better way to do this, in the case of a motley crowd, than to make its whilom hero a laughing stock. The scene comes back vividly. Proud as only those who plume themselves the chosen of God can be,—their lips curl when the little group from Nazareth is pointed out as His folk. Then the luckiness of the incident dawns upon them. Quietly, but effectively, sign and word are passed about, and as the people begin to know of the visit, they are already instilled with contempt for the plainly garbed band—the four or five men of provincial stamp, awkwardly clearing passage for a woman of grave demeanor. It is not worth the crowd's while to give away. "They could not come at Him;"<sup>1</sup> covert laughter lurks in its eyes. Meanwhile, Jesus had been proclaiming that the men of Nineveh should rise in judgment with the generation hearing Him, because they did penance at the preaching of Jonas, "and behold a greater than Jonas here;"<sup>2</sup> and other such truths unpalatable to Jewish tastes. From the sublime to the ridiculous is but a step; and the distraction of the mass between Him and where stands His relatives, betrays its prospect of a comic *dénouement*. The right moment comes. The air vibrates with the dictum: "So shall it be also to this wicked generation," when the voices call from here and there in the crowd and the thumbs point backward. "His mother and brethren are out there waiting to talk with Him. His mother and brethren—common people from the country. He who questions the wisdom of the nation's Great and Wise is of such stock! How does this square with His extravagant claims? An unschooled man from Nazareth has left the work-shop to reconstruct the religion of Israel. An am-ha-ares<sup>3</sup> has stolen the Rabbi's cloak—the slave reigneth—the fool is filled with meat; therefore is the earth disturbed!"<sup>4</sup> Aye, there was venom in the word to Jesus that His *mother and brethren* were without.

One unsophisticated soul, a woman, had not taken in the sarcasm of the announcement, and so gave voice to honest admiration: "Blessed is the womb that bore Thee, and the paps that gave Thee suck!"<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Luke, viii., 19.

<sup>3</sup> *i. e.*, "A countryman, an unlearned clout."

<sup>4</sup> Prov., xxx., 22.

<sup>2</sup> Matt., xii., 41-45.

<sup>5</sup> Luke xi., 27.

But did the ruse succeed?

As the incident of the woman taken in adultery, and other untoward happenings, were made to serve, so this intended contumely served but as an opening to teach a lesson in the lofty morality and spiritual doctrine which constituted the substance of Christian life and faith. "My mother and my brethren!" The Infinite God stands there measuring His relationship with mankind at large, and His love for all those who have acknowledged or are to acknowledge its bonds shines in His human eyes, as, with outstretched arms, He bends protectingly over His disciples. "Behold my mother and brethren!" And in the solemn hush of cowed irreverence and indefinable expectation, He publishes—so briefly, but all so comprehensively—the magna charta of man's kinship with Divinity: "For whosoever shall do the will of God, he is my mother and my sister and my brother!"

Cunning had outwitted itself; the poisoned shaft was deftly caught and sent back to bury itself in the heart of the bowman.

If there be anything of faithfulness in this presentation of the incident, it is evident, without argument, how entirely out of place deductions as to misguided conduct on the part of the Virgin and brethren and rebuke on the part of Christ, are. Mother and brethren come to Him out of solicitude, out of love;<sup>1</sup> Christ, on His part, not only prevented their presence from being turned to their own confusion or to His, but meeting the Pharisees and their tribe as He always met them, made it an occasion of triumph. So there is nothing in the happening which calls for apology—no disavowing of relationship, no want of tenderest consideration for her who was nearest to Him in the moment of peril—at the foot of the cross;<sup>2</sup> no "prophetic rebuke to Mariolatry" nor of "the strange doctrines about her freedom from actual and original sin"—in a word, no ground for Protestant animadversion upon Catholic veneration for God's holy mother. It was simply an event in Our Lord's life like, in a way—be it said with reverence—similar happenings in the lives of more than one great man whose origin was humble; now and then envious tongues would leave their slime across such an one's influence—in a critical hour taunt or brand him with his birth or blood. But, for all

<sup>1</sup> "In Mark iii., 21, we are told that His relations *went out to lay hold on Him, for they said, He is beside Himself*; and that the reason of this was His continuous labor in teaching, which *had not left time so much as to eat*. There is nothing in this care for his bodily health (from whatever source the act may have arisen on the part of his brethren, see John vii, 5) inconsistent with the known state of his mother's mind (see Luke ii, 19, 51)."—Alford.

<sup>2</sup> John xix, 25.

that Mary or James or Joses or Simon or Jude were affected by *His* words, they might as well have been in Tyre or in Antioch or in Rome. And had they been in fault, the Divinity which repro-bated exposure of a parent's weakness, even among brothers,<sup>1</sup> would not, in Jesus, have proclaimed *that* mother's to a nation.

The reading of the incident narrated in Luke xi., 27, as occurring on the occasion of the coming of Jesus's mother and brethren, demands something in the way of vindication. It is not adopted in order to shirk difficulties involved in the more ordinary view; for such do not exist. According to this view, mother and brethren are not present when the woman calls out from the crowd, and attention is not drawn to family connections. What, then, would the exclamation mean? Primarily, admiration for His own *human* excellencies; for it is not to be thought that this ignorant woman realized what the Apostles themselves did not realize until after the Resurrection—His Divinity! The good soul—herself, perhaps, a mother—was in wonder at His eloquence, His teaching as one having power, His miracles, His siding with the lowly, His attack upon hard masters, His grace of character. In effect, her words meant, How proud your mother should be of You! Could, or would, he have admiration such as this? Of its essence it was infinitely more displeasing to Him than it would be to a Paul, who would not have it that any one's faith might stand on the gifts of a man, on his eloquence or his wisdom, but on the power of God.<sup>2</sup> True, Jewish pride of such a mothership found voice in the cry, How proud she would be were she that mother, and how that Son should be boasted of! But it was a Jewish pride based on a false notion of what made up genuine merit. Therefore, in the pregnant answer of Jesus there was taught a triple lesson: He would not have Himself hero-worshiped. He would have the woman know that blessedness, in His eyes, was a matter of hearing and keeping God's word—not a matter of birth, station or blood connection, and that God gives high position only to those who hear and do His word,<sup>3</sup> and He would have her realize that she herself could have part in this true blessedness. The incident, consequently, is not assumed into a new connection to rid it of difficulties in the other reading, nor because it would seem naturally to link itself with the actual presence of the Virgin. The change is adopted purely from exegetical requirements; for the

<sup>1</sup> Gen. ix, 22.

<sup>2</sup> I Cor. ii., 5.

<sup>3</sup> "Partly assenting and partly putting her right, Jesus answered: 'Yea, blessed . . . ;' it behooved her to know that Mary had attained to her peculiar experience of the visitation of God through her peculiar hearing and keeping of the word of God, and that even now she was still subject to that condition."—Lange, *Life of Christ*, vol. ii., p. 276.



exclamation of the woman and the reply of Jesus are subjoined by St. Luke to the oration in which he refutes the blasphemy that it is by Beelzebub He casts out devils, just as the incident of the Virgin's visit is joined to the same utterance by St. Matthew and St. Mark.<sup>1</sup> In this arrangement the meaning of Christ's word would be that already unfolded, though one may lean to the fond hope that the brave heart's enthusiasm<sup>2</sup> was raised to the higher plane of faith, and that preventing grace enabled it, for its consolation, to appreciate, as few others there understood, the lessons taught.

#### APPENDIX.

Some notes are added, chiefly quotations, upon two other texts which hasty or biassed examination has made to reflect upon the mother of Jesus. Were no word said in their regard, remembrance of the meaning they have been strained to bear, might throw a shade of uncertainty over the conclusions reached in the essay; therefore it seemed well to touch upon them, if only briefly.

The first of these passages occurs in the second chapter of St. Luke, the 48th and following verses: "And seeing him they wondered. And his mother said to him: Son, why hast thou done so to us? Behold thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing. And he said to them: How is it that you sought me? Did you not know that I must be about my Father's business? And they understood not the word that he spoke unto them. And he went down to Nazareth and was subject to them. And his mother kept all these words in her heart."

It must suffice to note, first: There was nothing but solicitous,

<sup>1</sup> How account for the difference existing between the narrative of St. Luke and those of St. Matthew and St. Mark? St. Luke himself tells us how he gathered the materials for his Gospel: "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a narrative of the things that have been accomplished among us: according as they have delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word; it seemed good to me also, having diligently attained to all things from the beginning, to write to thee," etc.—i., 1-3. Hence the difference is due to some confusion or lack of detail on the part of those from whom the third Evangelist got his information. A probable explanation would be such as this: The auditor, who told of the visit of Jesus's relatives, having soon after heard the Parable Sermon, in recalling the two events, confused their order, and forgot, or never heard, the woman's exclamation, being far from her in the crowd (so in the Third Gospel the presence of the mother is subjoined to that sermon). This latter incident the Evangelist learned from another source—from some one who, being close by the woman, was taken up with her action, and probably not cognizant of the mischief brewing among the crowd's more distant groups. What if the woman herself were St. Luke's informant?

<sup>2</sup> Brave—for "her word was a beautiful homage, glorifying the Lord Himself at a moment when the Hierarchs of the land were condemning him as a heretic, who, as they said, was in league with the devil."—Lange's *Life of Christ*, vol. ii., p. 276.

respectful, motherly care expressed in the Virgin's words; the emphasis in them but betrays the awful responsibility she felt. "The Greek word (*ᾄδονόμενοι*) which answers to 'dolentes' (sorrowing)," says the Abbé Fillion, "is of extraordinary force; it means sufferings as poignant as those of childbirth.<sup>1</sup> The imperfect *ᾄδονόμεν* also emphasizes this, for it indicates long and painfully anxious searching." Secondly, as to the reply of Jesus: "This is no *reproachful* question. It is asked in all the simplicity and boldness of holy childhood . . . 'did ye not know' . . . it appeared as if that conviction, the expression of which now first breaks forth from Him, must have been a matter known to them before" (Alford's "Greek Testament"). Thirdly, *And they understood not the word*. "Probably, as Stier remarks, the unfolding of His childhood had been so gradual and natural that even *they* had not been reminded by any strong individual notes of that which He was, and which now showed itself" (*ibid.*) . . . "Not that it was meaningless to them, but they did not fully comprehend its meaning. Nothing but His life and death and resurrection could fully interpret either the spirit of self-consecration implied in these words, or what was that business to which He must needs devote Himself" ("The Illustrated Commentary," Rev. Lyman Abbott). Fourthly. It is helpful to bear in mind that it was from the Blessed Mary herself St. Luke got these details: "His mother kept all these words in her heart."

The other text is St. John, second chapter, verses 3 to 7: "And the wine failing, the mother of Jesus saith to him: They have no wine. And Jesus saith to her: Woman, what is to me and to thee? My hour is not yet come. His mother saith to the waiters: Whatsoever he shall say to you, do ye. . . . Jesus saith to them: Fill the water-pots with water," etc.

The words "woman" and "what is to me and to thee" grate upon English ears. Why? For the reason that idioms differ, and although the words are a literal rendering of the Greek phrase, they do not convey in English its sentiment. Non-Catholic scholars vie with each other in emphasizing this fact, as far as the address "woman" is concerned. "No one," says Dr. Edersheim, "who either knows the use of the language, or remembers that when commending her to John on the Cross He used the same mode of expression, will imagine that there was anything derogatory to her, or harsh on His part, in addressing her as 'woman' rather than 'mother'"<sup>2</sup> (Dean Alford, comments: *γυναίκα*). "There is no reproach in this term, but rather respect."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Fillion seems to confound *ᾄδονόμενοι* with *ᾄδινόμενοι*.

<sup>2</sup> *The Life of the Messiah*, vol. i., p. 361.

<sup>3</sup> Greek Testament, Comm. on St. John.

Archbishop Trench felt it his duty to write: "... It is quite true that in the address 'woman' there is nothing of indignity or harshness, though there may be the sound of such to an English ear. In His tenderest words to His mother from the Cross, He employs the same address, 'Woman, behold thy son' <sup>1</sup>

Indeed, the compellation cannot fail to have something solemn in it, wherever the dignity of woman is felt. Thus, in Greek tragedy, if one would reproduce the *ἡθος* of the scene, *γυναί* would in passages innumerable be rendered 'lady.' <sup>2</sup> At this point, however, this eminent churchman breaks with Catholic exposition, and falls into a more Protestant rut: "It is otherwise with the words following, 'what have I to do with thee?' All expositors of the early Church have found in them more or less of reproof and repulse; the Roman Catholics themselves admit the *appearance* of such, only they deny the reality. He so replied, they say, to teach *us*, not *her*, that higher respects than those of flesh and blood moved Him to the selecting of that occasion for the first putting forth of His divine power. Most certainly it was to teach this; but to teach it first to her, who, from her wondrous position as the 'blessed among women' was, more than any other, in danger of forgetting it, and in her to teach it to us all."

To justify his assertion, "all expositors of the early Church," he gives "two examples for many:" Irenæus iii., 16, and Chrysostom, Hom. xxi. in Job.

Upon this passage it should be observed, First, that the assertion "All expositors of the early church have found in them more or less of reproof and repulse," is not true. It would be more nearly correct for the archbishop to say of these expositors what he asserts of Roman Catholics—they "admit the *appearance* of such." A few extracts from St. Augustine, whose eighth tract upon St. John's gospel is taken up with this text, prove the point.

The saint, having described the womb of the Virgin as the bridal bed arising from which Christ came forth "ut gigas ad currendam viam," <sup>3</sup> continues; "In a way certainly mysterious, the Divine bridegroom, seems not to acknowledge His mother, saying: *Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? Nondum venit hora mea.* What does this mean? Is it for the purpose of teaching that mothers are to be contemned He attends the marriage feast? The one whose wedding He graced, was taking a wife that children might be begotten; and surely this man desired that the children whose birth he hoped for, would reverence him. Since then marriage feasts are made and wives taken that children, upon whom God lays the law to honor parents, may be brought forth, are we to believe that

<sup>1</sup> John xix., 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Miracles of Our Lord*, 1st Miracle, 14th edit., p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> Psalm xviii., 6.



He took occasion of nuptials to reflect upon His mother? Without doubt, brethren, there is something hidden here. . . . Why then said He to His mother? *Quid mihi et tibi*, etc. . . . Our Lord Jesus Christ was God as well as man; inasmuch as He was God, He had not a mother; through what was human of Him, she came into relation with Him. . . . Because, therefore, she was not the mother of the Divine nature, and because it was by virtue of His Divinity the miracle asked for was to be wrought, He answered 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?' But think not that I question thy motherhood—*nondum venit hora mea*: for when this hour comes, will I acknowledge you—when the weak part of me, which thou didst give, hangs on the cross."<sup>1</sup> The words bring us back to Dr. Newman's view already dwelt upon.

Secondly. Archbishop Trench is unfortunate in the selection of quotations to support his statement. Irenæus is not fairly represented by him. That Father, as St. Augustine, is arguing against heretics of the Apelles, Marcion and Valentinian stripe; he is proving that Jesus Christ was one and the same, the only Begotten Son of God, perfect God and perfect man. In the course of his argument he dwells long on the relations of Mary to Jesus, but by not one word asperses her. Later on he writes: "With Him is nothing incomplete or out of due season, just as with the Father there is nothing incongruous. For all these things were foreknown by the Father; but the Son works them out at the proper time in perfect order and sequence. This was the reason why, when Mary was urging [Him] on to [perform] the wonderful miracle of the wine, and was desirous before the time to partake of the cup of emblematic significance, the Lord, checking her untimely haste, said, "Mulier, quid mihi et tibi? 'Mine hour is not yet come'—waiting for that hour which was foreknown by the Father."<sup>2</sup> The words "was desirous before the time to partake" and "untimely haste" need hold naught of rebuke: they may simply mean, and no one has a right to *insist* upon another explanation; that the Blessed Mother did not know the future as Jesus did, because of the limitations of her knowledge might her action have been untimely; no sign hints that Irenæus thought it was because of weakness on her part.

Thirdly. The archbishop makes much of the comments of some Catholic commentators. "the Roman Catholics themselves admit the appearance of such (*i.e.*, more or less reproof and repulse); only they deny the reality. He so replied, they say, to teach *us*, not *her*. . . . Most certainly it was to teach this; but to teach it first

<sup>1</sup> In *Joan. Evan*, tract, viii., caput ii.

<sup>2</sup> *The Anti-Nicene Fathers*, vol. i., p. 443. The Christian Literature Publishing Co., Buffalo.

of all to her," etc. The Catholic position is not fairly represented. Catholics do not question that the Blessed Mother was as capable of learning lessons as we are; but does this mean that when God teaches one a lesson, this person has been formally guilty of sin? Is there no chance that there may have been simply a mistake on his part, or that God simply wished to teach him to do better than he knew how to do, unless so aided? Does the doctrine that the Virgin was without sin mean that she was omniscient, so that she could not act without acting as perfectly as it was possible to act? Does that doctrine mean that leaving weakness and fault on one side, she could not lack Divine foresight? Neither Catholics nor Fathers have so held.

It is a pity that Archbishop Trench overlooked these distinctions, and that, though in other concerns critical and fair-minded, he should, when dealing with Catholic writers, descend to the methods of a special pleader.

Nor must it be conceded that Catholic scripturists without exception see the semblance of blame for His mother in the words of Jesus. Older commentators are not wanting whose piety forbid them to make this admission, and an able comment of our own day entirely scouts such a view. In two papers appearing in the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record" for July and November, 1888, the Very Reverend E. O'Brien proposes an interpretation at once fresh and worthy of careful attention. The following extracts fairly represent his work upon the text:

"The words are in the Greek: *Ti ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ?*: What to me and to thee?" *Ti*, what; *ἐμοὶ*, to me; *καὶ*, and; *σοὶ*, to thee. The corresponding phrase in Hebrew is, mah li w'leka;<sup>1</sup> mah, what; li, to me; w'leka, and to thee. That is an interrogative phrase, and is a figurative interrogation; that is to say, a statement of something conveyed in the form of an interrogation. It is also an elliptical expression; that is to say, an expression in which some words must be supplied to make out the sense. However, it is a familiar and conventional elliptical expression, and, therefore, an expression in which the words to be supplied are not taken from the context only, but are implied in the phrase itself. To get the meaning of the phrase we must inquire what are the words to be supplied to make out the complete sense, the words which the *mind* supplies, though the pen does not write them, or the tongue pronounce them, or the ear hear them, and which are substantially the same words no matter where the phrase is found.

"The phrase is, 'What to me and to thee?' The ordinary version supplies after the word 'what' the words 'is there common,'

and makes it out in full, 'What is there common to me and to thee?' Which comes to this in an artistic form, 'There is nothing common to me and to thee,' or, 'What have I to do with thee?' That is, 'I have nothing to do with thee.' . . . Now, I assert, first, that 'What is there common' is a very unusual and unnatural meaning to give the word 'what.' I say that the natural meaning and use of the word 'what' when used as an exclamation or figurative interrogation is to express surprise or disappointment. 'What! have you returned?' 'What! have you been absent again?' 'What! are we late for the train?' Such expressions mean it is pleasant or unpleasant, a suitable or unsuitable thing that you have returned; it is an unsuitable thing that you have again been absent; it is an unsuitable thing that we are late for the train. I say that the translation of the phrase 'What to me and to thee' by the words 'an unsuitable thing to me and to you' is far more natural and makes quite as good sense in the passage in question as the translation, 'There is nothing in common to me and to you.' Compare the two. The Blessed Virgin says to her Son: 'They have no wine.' He answered: 'There is nothing common to me and to you,' a very untrue remark and very uncalled for and very inappropriate, even if true. The Blessed Virgin says to her Son: 'They have no wine.' He answers: 'An unsuitable thing to me and to you'; that is to say, *the deficiency of the wine* is an unsuitable thing to you and to me. If He stayed, it would be awkward both for Himself and His mother, and He did not like to go, for the time He had arranged to go had not yet come.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> " 'My hour is not yet come.' . . . The meaning of the words in Scripture is this: 'The hour I myself consider seasonable.' Thus the Evangelist says: 'No man laid hands upon Him, because the hour He considered seasonable had not come' (John vii., 30); that is to say, it entirely depended on Himself. The same expression is found in John vii., 20: 'Jesus was teaching in the treasury and no one laid hands on Him, because the hour He considered seasonable had not come.' . . . And in John vii., 6: 'The time I myself consider seasonable (for going up to the Feast) has not come. I do not go up to this festival to-day because the time I myself consider seasonable is not fulfilled.' As a matter of fact, there was nothing particularly solemn about His going up to the feast, for He went up privately and not on the festival day, but on one of the days towards the end of the feast. . . . The assumption, therefore, which the second version makes, that the words 'my hour' mean 'my hour for working miracles' is arbitrary and unwarranted. It means here what it means elsewhere, the hour I myself consider seasonable, but the hour for what, whether, as my version says, the hour for leaving the feast, or, as the second version says, the hour for working miracles, must be determined from other sources. If it is to be determined from the context, then it cannot be the hour for working miracles. That hour has come, for he does work a miracle. To meet that argument it is absolutely necessary for the second version to assume that our Lord anticipated the time He Himself thought seasonable for working miracles. The necessity for making that arbitrary assumption shows what a rickety version, even at its best, that second version is. The version I have given stands by itself and walks by itself." . . . —*Irish Eccl. Rec.*, Nov. 1888, p. 1022.



"If the expression 'What to me and thee' was found in this one passage alone, we could say with absolute certainty that the meaning of it is not, nor cannot be, 'what (is then common) to me and to thee.' We could not of course say for certain that the meaning is 'what (an unsuitable thing) to me and to you;' for though that meaning fits admirably here, other meanings might fit too, and though the meaning 'what (an unsuitable thing) to me and to you' might fit this passage, it might be quite out of place in other passages in which it is used. Thus the meaning 'what (is it) to me and to thee,' though, to some extent, it might suit here, that is, it would not make nonsense here, does not fit into any other passage in which the expression 'what to me and to thee' occurs. In fact it makes absolute nonsense in all the other passages. I may add that the same thing is true of all the other interpretations of the words that are so plentifully suggested from time to time; they suit this passage to some extent, but are ludicrous in all the other passages.

"On the other hand, if we give the expression 'what to me and to thee' the meaning 'what (an unsuitable thing) to me and to thee,' that meaning not only makes sense in every passage in which the expression occurs, but makes *the* sense, the natural, the just sense, that the context and the argument in each case requires; while the meaning 'what (is there common) to me and to thee,' is in most instances an outrage on common sense, is in no instance *the* sense required, though in one or two instances the translation by those words would not be nonsense; just as the translation of 'kingdom against kingdom shall fall' would not be nonsense, if given for 'domus supra domnum cadet,' which after all would not show that the meaning of the word *domus* ever is *kingdom*." Fr. O'Brien then takes up the different texts in which the words appear—Judges xi., 12; II. King xvi., 10; xix., 22; III. King xvii., 18; IV. King iii., 13; II. Chron. xxxv., 21; I. Esdr. iv., 3; Matth. viii., 29; Luke viii., 28; iv., 34; Mark i., 24; v., 7; and shows in each case the fitness of his translation. In his second paper he writes: "The proof that 'an unsuitable thing to me and to you' is the correct interpretation of the words 'What to me and to thee' rests on several grounds. It is an interpretation that fits into and makes proper sense in *every* passage in which the phrase is found. It not only makes *a* sense, or a sort of sense, but makes that sense which thoughtful men, using the sentences in which it occurs, would be expected to employ. . . ."

These quotations hardly do justice to the original papers; albeit,

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<sup>1</sup> The longer extract quoted is from the *Record* for July; the shorter from the number for November, 1888.

it is hoped that the purpose for which they were made has been served: to evidence Protestant incompleteness and inaccuracy when dealing with the work of Catholics upon this text of Scripture, and, indeed, with their work upon many, many other texts.

In the present essay the aim has been to render to the Mother of God a purely reasonable service. The texts have been approached and examined with fearless indifference as to what the result might be; the effort was to elucidate the Testament's meaning,—not what a school or a party would have it mean. The polemic tone of the paper arises not from the will of the writer, but from the circumstances of the case. May the day in which this tone will appear out of place soon shine upon us; the day on which all who worship the Son will realize that by reason of their belief in Him, it is their blessed duty fittingly to venerate His Mother!

JOSEPH V. TRACY.

(ST. MARY'S SEMINARY, BALTIMORE, MD.)

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## CRITICISM OF RECENT PANTHEISTIC EVOLUTION.

WE need not wonder at the bold assurance with which pantheistic evolution steps forth in our days. Pretending to be the noblest form of monism, pantheism has always assumed high airs. It constantly presumed to profess the most elevated views in science, morals, and religion. But its boldness has not been so great, as the criticism which it encountered has been severe. Since the rise of Christianity pantheism has been frequently examined, and always condemned, not merely as an unsatisfactory, but as a monstrous doctrine which, by combining contradictory attributes in God, perverted the very conception of the Godhead into an absurdity.

## I.

The newly-advanced theories of pantheistic evolution cannot evade this general verdict. In accordance with the principles of pantheism, pantheistic evolution assumes the self-existent being as infinite, spiritual, eternal, unchangeable, and at the same time characterizes it as finite, imperfect, material, and subject to endless changes. For, if the Deity is the immanent ground of all existence, if it develops from itself all beings as its own determinations or modes of its activity, if, in a word, it is all in all, then, indeed, we must predicate of God all the phenomena we experience and all the qualities we perceive in this visible universe. The inertia of matter, the attraction and repulsion of material forces with all the effects that result from them, vegetation and sensation, growth and decay, the life and the death of organic bodies, the folly as well as the wisdom, the vices no less than the virtues of men, the imperfection and the excellence of all things alike are His attributes or His actions. It is He that lives in the plant, feels in the brute and thinks in man; He that displays His perfection and power in them as their force, their life, their very reality. Plainly, the Deity, which we must necessarily conceive as self-existent, is thus presented at once as infinite and finite, as most perfect and imperfect, as most wise and foolish, as most holy and vicious, as essentially active and inert, as purely spiritual and grossly material. Is not such a conception a veritable caricature of the Godhead?

While thus open to all the objections raised against pantheism, the theories in question involve moreover all the incongruities



which, in a former article, of this REVIEW,<sup>1</sup> we have shown to be intrinsic to the general idea of evolution. For, in accordance with them, the self-existent being is self-evolving. Though admitted to be infinite, it is supposed to grow and develop constantly to ever greater perfection. This is apparent from its relationship to nature. The ever-changing universe is not merely an external manifestation of God or an effect produced outside of Him. No, it is his own being, his own life, his own power and activity. Growing by an ever-continuous differentiation to the fulness of beauty and perfection, the world is nothing less than the Deity unfolding its own being by immanent operation. Evolution is thus carried into God himself by the latest pantheistic theories, and such evolution as consists in transition from the indeterminate to the determinate. For, by virtue of it, God becomes actually what he was before only potentially, or, to speak in more accurate terms, what he was not before. Primarily not organized, he gradually assumes an organism, at first only a germ of divine life. He unfolds and attains to the plenitude of vital activity; devoid of order and beauty, he clothes himself by succeeding changes with these glorious attributes.

But if a process of evolution is going on in God, he must be conceived as determinate and indeterminate at the same time. Were he not indeterminate, why should he gradually acquire determinateness? According to pantheistic views he may not be so utterly indeterminate as matter or abstract being is; still indeterminateness must be in his nature, at least to such an extent as is to be removed from him by evolution from all eternity. But at the same time he is also fully determinate by virtue of his very essence. He is self-existent, he is essentially the infinite spirit. The modern pantheists themselves conceive him as such. But infinity as well as self-existence imply full and absolute determinateness.

To enhance the absurdity, both these contradictory attributes are repugnant to evolution. If God is fully determinate by his own essence, a gradual transition from indeterminateness to determinateness is out of question. If he is indeterminate, he cannot determine himself by his own activity. The reason is plain. The determinations to be effected cannot, as to their perfection, be pre-contained in his nature; for then he could not be conceived as originally indeterminate. But if not pre-contained in his nature, they cannot possibly be evolved out of it, or be brought into being by its operation; for effluences from an empty source or effects without a sufficient cause are impossibilities.

We see, then, pantheistic evolutionists have given us promises

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<sup>1</sup> *The Idea of Evolution*, 1893, pp. 762-779.

which are as void as they are high-sounding. They do not meet the objections raised against evolution from a metaphysical point of view, but, reasserting all the absurdities implied in this idea, they entangle themselves in addition in all the numberless self-contradictions which are peculiar to pantheism. As a combination of errors, their theory renders monistic evolution doubly absurd instead of solving its difficulties. But let us enter into details. Do they establish the doctrine of evolution? Do they account for the unity, order and beauty of the world and at the same time for the supreme perfection of the Godhead?

## II.

Pantheism is absolutely incompetent to explain the process of evolution, to prove either its starting point or its final result, either its laws or its different stages. It starts with a being which is not known to us immediately or by intuition, but is represented in our mind by notions derived from the finite world we experience; it proceeds from a principle into which we have no direct insight, whose existence we infer from the effects which reason compels us to attribute to it. In a word, it begins with the cause, which, though first in the order of being, is last in the order of cognition. Hence, the explanation which it offers is a process from the unknown to the known.

But, though we form our first idea of the Godhead by ascending from the visible objects around us, what stands in the way of descending from God again to the consideration of the finite world as soon as the conception of the divinity has been sufficiently developed? And might not the course of thought possibly lead to a world that originates from the Supreme Being by a process of evolution? Let us see what idea we have formed of God through the aid of experimental knowledge. We conceive Him as the self-existent, the first cause, the infinite spirit. But if God is essentially the fulness of all being, any necessity whatever of producing the world is repugnant to Him. We cannot possibly conceive Him necessitated to produce it outside of Himself. There is absolutely no reason which requires such transitive activity on His part; no reason extrinsic to him, because there is nothing outside of his nature that is independent of Him and antecedent to His operation; no reason intrinsic to Him, for, being essentially infinite He cannot become more perfect by the effects He brings into existence. Nor can it be necessary for God to produce vital effects within His own being, in order to reduce His infinity from potentiality into actuality. This is the view taken by pantheistic evolutionists. By evolving the world from Himself, God, as they imagine, evolves Himself and reaches the climax of perfection as a

germ attains to its specific size and shape by developing organs and members. Is this position less untenable? The answer is as plain as daylight. If the Supreme Being is by virtue of its essence infinite in all perfections, it cannot grow by the exercise of immanent activity. The very supposition of a possible growth is a palpable denial of infinity. And if all evolution is in evident contradiction to the self-existent, infinitely perfect being, how will our pantheistic evolutionists be able to show that it had to evolve itself by the gradual process of development which they assume to have taken place in this visible universe? They have nothing to stand on; the very ground is taken from under their feet.

To consider pantheistic evolution from another point of view, Is the world into which God should evolve finite or infinite? Does it contain all things that are possible, or only some of them? Dr. Martineau is of the opinion that it is finite, and that God passes from the indeterminate to the determinate by defining which out of all the possibilities are to be realized. No view more inconsistent with evolutionary principles could be espoused. A finite world cannot render the First Cause infinitely perfect. Nor can it reasonably be maintained that God, in the process of self-evolution, determines on the realization of only some possibilities. For the determination must be conceived either as free or as necessary.

It cannot be free; for in that case the evolutionists would, consistently with their principles, have to regard the world as the work of an arbitrary will. But this is an assumption utterly abhorred by them. Nor can it be a necessary act of God. Such a necessity is altogether inconceivable. For, on the one hand, all possible things, considered in themselves, are equally fit to be brought into being, and, on the other hand, the Infinite Being is competent to give existence to all alike and to every possible combination of them. But if all possible things are equally fit to exist, and if God is not only competent to actualize them all, but is also supposed to produce them with the absolute necessity of His nature, then there is no reason whatever why He should bring into being only some of them. We are rather driven to conclude that He must produce all without exception.

Consistently, therefore, the world must be admitted by pantheists to be infinite; that is, to possess all possible perfections and to include all possible beings. Such is, in fact, the view which Prof. Schurman holds. But the world is not and cannot be infinite. Every element, every mineral, every plant and animal, every living being, every realm and province of it is essentially limited, not merely in one, but in all respects, and, therefore, also the whole made of them is limited; for deficiencies intrinsic to parts are also intrinsic to the whole. Nor is this denied by the evolutionists.



Otherwise, how could they maintain that the universe is incessantly developing to ever greater perfection? Possibility of growth involves potentiality, and potentiality implies absence of perfection which is yet to be reached.

However, though they admit the world to be finite at every particular moment of its existence, the pantheists regard it as infinite in the whole course of its successive evolution. If, so they reason, there is within the universe an active principle sufficient to bring forth new forms in endless succession, we are compelled to conceive as unlimited both the power which is unlimited in productiveness and the series of successive forms which proceed from it in perpetual development. Let us see whether infinity can thus be established. Does the all-productive power pre-contain all the forms to be successively brought into being? Should it contain them, it must, indeed, be actually infinite. But in this case it does not admit of evolution. Should it not contain them, it must be insufficient to give them existence; for a cause is equal to certain effects only in so far as it pre-contains their perfection. As to the forms which are produced, it is granted that each of them taken singly is finite. From this concession two conclusions must necessarily be drawn. First, the whole series of the forms successively produced must be finite, because the infinite cannot rise from finite parts—least of all, if these parts do not even co-exist. Secondly; it is impossible to assign a reason for any particular form of the whole series; for if, as was said, all of them are equally possible, the omnipotent power of God is not only competent to produce them alike, but, being supposed to act with absolute necessity, is equally determined in regard to each and all of them. There is, therefore, no conceivable reason why the first form of cosmic existence should be the lowest or the highest on the grade of being, the nearest or the farthest from the Deity; no reason why it should be of this kind rather than of another; why the activity peculiar to it should be directed toward this rather than that end; why the law implanted in it should imply one order rather than the other of the phenomena to be produced. Nor is there, consequently, any reason why the course of evolution should ascend from lower to higher, rather than descend from higher to lower forms of existence; why it should take the direction which it is now believed to have taken rather than any other that may be imagined; why it should proceed in the stages now distinguished by scientists, and not in any other of the indefinite number of those which we must necessarily admit as possible. Hence, pantheistic evolution is, in its every phase and moment, an arbitrary assumption, not based on any ground whatever.

The truth of this conclusion is amply confirmed by the multi-

plicity and contrariety of pantheistic systems. We see in the course of ages, and especially in our days, one theory arise after the other, and each of them disappear again after an ephemeral existence, wafted away by the breath of scientific opinion like a strangely-formed cloud. In this numberless multitude of views and interpretations there is no agreement, but only strife and opposition, each one conflicting with all the others. For while the one derives matter from spirit and the lower from the higher forms, the other affirms that spirit springs from matter and the perfect from the imperfect; while, according to some, the universe is co-extensive with the Deity, God, according to others, transcends the world at the same time that He is immanent in it. Finite beings are looked upon now as modes of the divine activity, and then as emanations from the divine substance. There are such as maintain that the universe issues from the divine intellect; and there are others who believe it to be the operation of the divine will. Again, there are those who represent God as personal intelligence, and those who conceive Him as working and evolving with blind necessity. Pantheism is nowhere and never the same; it always changes and undergoes ever new transformations. But such is not the nature of truth, which is the same at all times and never contradicts itself. Such is not the theory which interprets phenomena by their proper laws and traces them back to their real causes, proximate and remote. Such is not true philosophy, which, proceeding by careful inquiry and, resting its positions on solid reasons, affords insight and generates unshaken conviction in the mind. It is falsehood that is never consistent with itself, and lawless fancy that produces disconnected fictions unfit to exist and to satisfy the intellect longing for truth.

Error and mistake are infinite,  
But truth hath but one way to be i' th' right.

### III.

Pantheism, therefore, does not interpret evolution; nor is it, furthermore, an explanation of unity. A strange censure. For does not the pantheistic theory reduce all things to absolute oneness, teaching, as it does, that God is all and all is God? This would, indeed, be a most perfect unity if it were real. But it is not the kind of unity which we perceive in this visible universe. Were all things identified in being, as the pantheistic theory assumes, we should be forced to conceive as indistinct the different realms and components of nature; things that live and things that are devoid of life; things of a lower, and things of a higher degree of perfection; things that move and act and such as are moved and acted upon; beings

distant in time and place, mutually dependent on, or exclusive of, one another. All this is absolutely impossible. A distinction in being is real and undeniable in nature. There is a distinction between birth and death, between coming into existence and going out of it, between perfection of a lower and perfection of a higher grade; a distinction between dependence and independence, between mere mechanism and wonderful organization; a distinction between the absence of life and the perfection of life, between inability of perception and highly-developed intellection. Nay, there is not merely a distinction between the attributes enumerated, but also an opposition, and one so utterly irreconcilable that they can impossibly co-exist in the same subject. Consequently there is a distinction also among the things in which they are found; that is, among the numberless parts which constitute the universe, and, nominally, a distinction between those that have self-consciousness and those that are devoid of it, and a distinction among the different self-conscious subjects, because they exclude one another from the sphere of their own existence. So certain is our conviction concerning the reality of these distinctions, that we base our whole external activity on them. The laws which the scientists have ascertained in the physical world show the same distinctions with no less clearness, and the laws which rulers have enacted for man and for society presuppose them, and would, without this supposition, be palpable absurdities.

Clearly, the pantheistic theory does not explain that unity which, in reality, exists in nature, a unity in a variety of things distinct from one another. Instead of doing so, it has substituted a unity of quite a different kind. And what makes the case still worse, the unity it substituted is the plainest impossibility. The infinite and the finite; the perfect and the imperfect; the simple and the compound; the active and the passive; the cause and the effect—cannot be identical. To deny this, would make it necessary to maintain that to be and not to be are identical. Yet, the pantheistic doctrine amounts to this very assertion. If God is all and all is God, then, indeed, He is infinite, perfection, life and beauty itself; and, at the same time, evolving in all the forms of cosmic existence. He is finite and imperfect; whilst absolutely simple, He is composed and manifold; whilst living and intelligent, in some parts of the world, He is lifeless and without perception in others; whilst improduced and self-existent, He is continually produced; whilst He is the First Cause, He is, simultaneously, a series of effects issuing from Himself. In short, the self-existent cause, reduced to absolute oneness with the finite world, is the aggregate of all possible contradictions and absurdities, which cannot be admitted as real existence without the complete stultification of



reason. We must, therefore, undoubtedly conclude that pantheism is just as little an interpretation of cosmic unity as it is an explanation of universal evolution. But we must proceed still further.

#### IV.

Instead of building up the order of the universe, it leads consistently to destruction. Let us examine for a moment the ultimate source from which pantheists derive all being and all perfection. Though self-existent, it is imperfect and undeveloped, not actually perfect but only tending to become so by further evolution. Its progress is extremely slow, however. Having striven for development from all eternity, it has, thus far, attained only a low degree of perfection. Evidently, it has failed in most cases, and but seldom succeeded. And so it will perpetually continue, without ever attaining to consummation. When the universe, which is its evolved form of existence, has developed to a high degree, catastrophes, as many pantheists tell us, will dissolve it again into its primary elements, or turn it back to a second chaos. Thus, evolution will be followed by revolution, and integration by dissolution, for all eternity. The self-evolving deity of pantheists may very well be likened to Sisyphus, who is always heaving the stone up hill only to see it roll back into the valley.

Moreover, if God is all, He is not distinct from matter. It is true, modern philosophers have attempted to elevate matter, and, as they say, to free it from its opprobrium. But they are undertaking an impossible task. They cannot succeed in lifting it above the lowest degree of being, or in ridding it from certain properties intrinsic to it. Brute matter will ever be inert, and act only according to mechanical laws; organic matter will always remain subject to decay, disease, and death. If, therefore, God is matter, or, if matter is a mode of His activity, He is heavy and motionless in the stone; He is tossed to and fro in the waves of the ocean; He is hammered in the iron on the anvil; He rages in the fire that destroys cities, and in the rivers which ruin the country by inundation; He withers in the plants and trees; He constantly pines, is tortured, and dies, in millions of animals; He suffers hunger in the wolf, is bloodthirsty in the tiger, and cruel in the hyena.

God reaches the highest perfection in man, for human nature is the crown of the universe. Therefore, all the properties peculiar to mankind, and all the deeds that history records, must be regarded as His own and attributed to Him; all ignorance and stupidity, all wickedness and immorality, all vices and errors which have ever tarnished the human race. And, mark it well; all this belongs to Him in the ultimate period of evolution, when He approaches the climax of perfection.

Let it not be said that these are merely some accidental shortcomings, covered by most astonishing excellencies. The very stultification of reason, human and divine, is the necessary outcome of the pantheistic theory. For, how do pantheists uphold the absolute oneness of all being against the undeniable fact that we most distinctly perceive real and essential differences between the objects of our experience? They tell us that our perceptions are, and must remain, illusive, until corrected by their higher philosophy. But this illusion, if clear and distinct perception can be so called, is universal, since we find it in all ages, and among all nations. It is altogether necessary and inevitable; for we cannot possibly look at things in another light, nor can we seriously convince ourselves by any kind of philosophical reflection that the things we know and daily experience, are identical notwithstanding their difference and opposition. Nor do we, the unenlightened and unadvanced, alone think so. Pantheists, themselves, act constantly on the conviction that there is a real distinction between person and person, between one thing and another, and have never as yet been induced by any means to conform their life to a different view. Whence is this illusion? Since it is universal and necessary, it must undoubtedly be traced back to an equally universal and necessary cause. Such a cause can be no other than human nature. It is this, and this alone, that is common to all men, and necessarily produces uniformity of action in them. Thus we arrive at the conclusion that reason is naturally illusive in man; and since it is the same in all beings, in the infinite as well as in the finite, we must further infer that it is illusive also in God. Most consistent, therefore, is the saying of R. W. Emerson: "Every man is a god playing the fool."<sup>1</sup> But, he should have added, that in an immense number of men, god is playing also the rascal, and that the entire universe is a god, leading a low, wretched, and miserable existence.

The consequences of such a conception of the First Cause are by no means immaterial. Pantheists are, generally, optimists, picturing to themselves a golden age, near at hand, resplendent in the brightness of universal enlightenment and elevated morality. But, in truth, the pessimism of E. von Hartmann is much more consistent with pantheistic principles—rather, is its only logical outcome. It is universally admitted that philosophical systems which deny or undermine the trustworthiness of human reason, must land us in the extinction of all knowledge as well as the destruction of society. If this be the case, to what extremities must not that philosophy lead which so undoes our reason as even to

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<sup>1</sup> *Essays*, p. 31.

stultify Supreme Reason, the immanent intellect, thinking in every mind and ruling the entire universe.

Other considerations render the outlook no less gloomy. If the source of all being, the highest and most perfect principiant, which is to develop all existence from itself, is so utterly slow, subject to so many reverses, so inert in matter, so low in animal life, so stupid, self-deceiving, and wicked, when it approaches the height of its perfection in man, then, indeed, we have reason to fear the worst, in spite of better qualities which it otherwise manifests. Instead of producing by self-evolution a paradise of universal happiness, of supreme enlightenment and righteousness, of perfect order and beauty, the deity described by pantheists will, to all appearances, in future ages pass, as it did thus far, from catastrophe to catastrophe, from chaos to chaos, with intervals of very limited prosperity.

## V.

Still it might be objected that if such like absurdities may be charged to the ancient systems of pantheism, they do not bear with the same weight on the theories devised by such modern thinkers as H. Lotze, Dr. Martineau, or Prof. Schurman. Their philosophy is, we hear it said, like pure gold, cleared from the dross of crude thought. Let us pass it in review, and see whether it is proof against similar objections.

In most of them God is represented as the world-soul, though not as if He and the visible world were two different components of one whole; the one a bodily substance, the other a divine spirit, each with its own distinct though incomplete reality, yet so united as to complete each other in one perfect nature. Nothing could be more inconsistent with monism than such a view, which, instead of deriving all being from one source, falls back to two primordial principiants, each of which is independent of the other as to its origin. In fact no theory, whether ancient or modern, has advanced a dualism of this kind under the garb of monism. In every case when a divine world-soul was admitted, God and the material universe were identified in being. In antiquity, Heraclitus, and, after him, the Stoics, brought God down to the level of matter; for they regarded the Deity as the ethereal all-penetrating fire, and looked on the world as formed of ether by condensation. In our days pantheists have lifted matter up to God by maintaining that it was but a mode of His activity.

Now, are any of the absurdities involved in pantheistic evolution avoided by this latest conception of the world-soul? Certainly the universal Deity is not thus cleared from incongruous attributes. In no other way could limitedness, liability to failure, inertness,



decay and death, low desires and immoderate passions, ignorance and error, vice and corruption, be more expressly denoted as traits and qualities proper to God, than by asserting that this entire universe, without any substantial reality in itself, is but a mode of divine activity. Nor is this new theory an interpretation of the universe. Evolution is not explained. For there is no reason advanced, as indeed it is impossible to advance any, why the divine essence, slowly emerging from indeterminateness, should assume just that activity which presents itself as the actual universe. Neither is cosmic unity accounted for. We are merely told that things which we cannot but regard as essentially distinct, are in reality not distinct, or are bidden to identify them not only as one being, but as one and the self-same operation differently modified under different aspects. But we are nowhere taught how such identity may be mentally represented. Nor is the nature of the universe and its component parts explained. Instead of being cleared up, it is wrapped in still greater darkness. The objects which we perceive are, according to these new philosophers, only phenomenal; we call them bodies, plants, animals, but there are no substantial realities underlying them. For while there are no beings individually existing and endowed with their own peculiar qualities and powers, there is only one substance, one reality, lying far behind the perceived appearances, invisible and imperceptible in itself, though sending forth fleeting phenomena in uninterrupted succession. Should we complain of the impossibility in which we find ourselves to espouse these views, again our difficulties are not solved. The only answer given to us is, that, though God thinks in us, we labor under illusions, and shall necessarily labor under them until we learn by transcendental wisdom to combine contradictions into being.

Emanation is no expedient to unriddle the perplexities of pantheistic teaching. It leaves the conception of the Deity full of self-contradictions. True, its advocates speak of God in terms which are apt to ravish us with admiration. They predicate of Him eternity and infinity and pure spirituality and supreme wisdom; in a word, all the attributes peculiar to the self-existent Being. At once, however, another view is presented to us. God must be conceived as simple, but, lo, He suddenly separates into parts; how could He otherwise emit from Himself the universe containing all the different bodies and especially the souls of men? He is infinitely perfect, but His component parts, on issuing from Him, are finite, imperfect, liable to lowness, ignorance, passions, and loathsome vices. He is essentially actual, nay, actuality itself, but He manifests Himself as essentially potential, for He progresses to ever greater determinateness, growing in perfection as a germ in-

creases by the emission of new cells. And what is still more perplexing, though simplicity is an essential attribute of God, He becomes more perfect by ever-increasing multiplicity. The farther we proceed in analyzing the conception of pantheistic emanation, the more numerous and the more startling grow the self-contradictions that are disclosed to our view.

But perhaps the theory in question may give a better account of unity, for it distinguishes the world from God, and one finite being from the other, so as not to identify what evidently cannot be identified, and yet merges all things in the one divine being from which they all issue and to which they all return. But if this distinction is admitted, dualism is re-established. It matters little how the universe has been brought into existence by God, whether by creation or by emanation, when once outside of Him, it is separated from Him by that immense abyss which exists between the finite and the infinite. There is, with any consistency in the doctrine of emanation, no longer oneness, but diversity of being. The evident consequence is, that evolution is rendered incongruous. For it is presumed to take place either in the finite things of this universe after they have emanated from God, or in God Himself by the very act of emanation. In the former supposition it is no longer one immanent, supreme, and universal principle that develops all from itself by its own activity, but many particular causes or agents that grow and extend by their inherent power. In the latter supposition evolution ceases to be a process from imperfection to perfection, a growth in being; it partakes of the nature of deterioration. Simplicity and unity are perfections of the highest order not only according to theists, but in accordance also with monistic views, to which any appearance of dualism is utterly repugnant; and in accordance with the theory of emanation in particular, which assumes that God is a spirit, the Father of spirits. But by emitting the world, an aggregate of things distinct from Himself and from one another, He evidently passes from unity to multiplicity, from simplicity to manifoldness. He becomes imperfect and decays, instead of developing and taking up higher forms.

Some have tried to prove that emanation is a real development by comparing it to the diffusion of bodies or to the division by which germs increase. Not to mention the evident truth that diffusion of any sort is incompatible with the nature of spirits on account of their simplicity, even bodies lose in unity and intensity of strength by expanding. And as to the growth of germs by division, it is to be borne in mind that this process presupposes new material introduced into the cleaving cell and perfectly assimilated with it. There is, consequently, first an increase from with-

out, and only then an increase or growth from within. But no increase from without is possible in God, for there is absolutely nothing the being and existence of which is not derived from Him. Emanation, therefore, is a process essentially different from organic growth. If at all conceivable, it can be thought of only as a diffusion of the Deity with the dissolution of its unity, and hence as a transition from a higher to a lower stage of perfection.

## VI.

Are other recent attempts more successful in extricating emanative evolution from the many difficulties that beset it? While admitting that the material world is only a mode of divine activity without any existence of its own, Professor Schurman undertakes to advance proofs that the soul of man exists not only in God, but also for itself, and that therefore, being not only a function, but a part of the divinity, it has its own free activity and is a second cause. Plainly an ingenious device to hold the diversity of intelligent beings as established by consciousness, and yet to maintain the absolute oneness of all being; to remove from the Deity all the imperfections found in man, and yet to regard the universe as the evolution of divine nature. Before accepting his solution of the difficulties intrinsic to pantheism as satisfactory, we must ask the learned Professor to throw more light on some points of his theory, which seem to border on open self-contradiction. As he says in one place,<sup>1</sup> modern science has shown that we can draw no lines between cogitative and incogitative beings, and that matter consists of elements which we can scarcely distinguish from souls. But soon after he tells us in plain words that soul and matter do not stand on the same plane of reality or unreality, nay that the difference between self and self-less stuff is the greatest we know and can imagine. He is even able to mark out the difference in exact scientific terms.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, as a genuine pantheist, he maintains the identity of all being, believes in the existence of one all-embracing reality outside of which there is nothing, of one absolute being, "of which so-called things are merely states or modifications, parts or functions," and conceives as impossible "a multiplicity of originally self-subsisting things."

The reason alleged for this position is that if things were not identical with one single and real being as infinite as the universe, they could not act or exercise an influence on one another.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, however, the human soul exists also apart from and outside of the divine being; it exists in itself and is a second cause, a free agent initiating its own activity and hence undoubtedly, ex-

<sup>1</sup> *Belief in God*, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165.



ercising of itself an influence on other finite spirits, so that God is not accountable for its acts.

This is not the only perplexing statement; others more perplexing are to follow. Spiritual beings exist apart from the Divine Being and out of it, but at the same time they are also in it and are identical with it; they are independent of God, at least to a certain extent, but this greater independence is the result of their greater dependence upon God.<sup>1</sup> These several propositions may fitly be reduced to the following: Since nothing can be and exist apart from God and act of itself and independently of Him, and since nevertheless the human soul whilst it is in Him, is also apart from Him, and whilst it exists and acts in Him and dependently on Him, has at the same time an independent existence and activity of its own; it must be philosophically true that one and the self-same thing can at once exist and not exist, act and not act; and it is the special privilege of finite spirits thus simultaneously to be and not to be, to have and not to have existence, to be endowed and not to be endowed with independence and activity.

Professor Schurman is not unconscious of the perplexities involved in his statements. He confesses: "How beings can be self contained persons and at the same time elements of the Divine life, we can never perhaps precisely understand."<sup>2</sup> But the difficulty of understanding these two conflicting propositions is for him less than that of conceiving how things distinct in being can act on one another, and much less than that of comprehending the usual theism, which he finds altogether *unthinkable*.<sup>3</sup> On grounds of this kind he espouses pantheism as a necessary postulate of reason and regards the objections raised against it as merely tending to make it a terminological bugbear.<sup>4</sup>

After all, then, the President of Cornell University confessedly does not advance a real explanation of pantheistic evolution, but only chooses of two positions which transcend his comprehension, the one which he regards as less repugnant to reason or less unaccountable. We must, of course, leave to him the position in which he pleases to find acquiescence. But for the ordinary mind, the mind which follows the plain and self-evident maxims of reason, there is no greater absurdity than the denial of the principle of contradiction which affirms that nothing can exist and not exist at the same time, and no system more unreasonable than that which, asserting man to be what his own consciousness clearly denies, makes him a personified self-contradiction, and which, refusing to trace the finite and the contingent back to the infinite as

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 225-228.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 226.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.

a supra-mundane cause, perverts the Supreme Being into a jumble of incongruities.

## VII.

One point of discussion still remains—the new departure taken by some Protestant theologians for the purpose of disentangling emanative evolution from its difficulties. Denying creation out of nothing, they regard the world as having emanated, not from the nature, but from the will, of God. Emanation, if so conceived, is in their opinion not pantheism, but enlightened theism, which so explains divine nature as to reduce it to harmony with the new dogma of evolution. The theory, in order not to part with a personal Deity, seems to suppose that the divine will gives issue to the world, not with necessity, but with freedom. For were emanation admitted to be necessary, as it is in other systems, there seems to be no reason for repudiating pantheism. If this is in reality their supposition, it is an utterly inconsistent one. The intelligence that produces the world by a free act of the will must be conceived as completely developed. It must not only have self-consciousness, but also full knowledge of the entire universe, as well as of its every part, its every law, its phenomena, its order and harmony. For, undoubtedly, it could not bring such wonderful effects into being, before having formed a perfect mental representation of them. A mind so rich in ideas, so wide and so comprehensive, and inventive of so great schemes is certainly not unevolved; a power competent to carry into being the grandest conceptions is not merely inceptive; and a nature endowed with such an intellect, replete with all reality, all beauty and force is not in a rudimentary condition. The world, therefore, if an effluence of free will, does not constitute, but presupposes the evolution of the Deity. And it is much less such evolution as modern philosophy wants. Evolution, according to its recent conception, is a necessary process. We hear it repeated from all sides that there is no creation by arbitrary will, but creation only by law. It is thought that a steady and regular order, which renders science possible, cannot be established unless necessary laws control the origin and formation of the world, the interdependence of its parts, the sequence of its phenomena and the succession of its stages and periods. But let the world be an emanation from free will, then there is no longer necessity, then things come into existence, grow and combine by an act which evolutionists term arbitrary. Then the force that works everywhere, in brute matter, plants and animals; the force that exercises attraction and repulsion, that builds up organisms from atoms, germs, and protoplasms, forms the heavenly bodies from primordial elements and moulds them in their

orbits, is will power subject to no law. In this assumption not only creation, but the entire course of nature becomes for the evolutionist arbitrary.

Emanation, therefore, from the free will of God is incompatible with the modern idea of evolution. It is, moreover, inconsistent with the denial of pantheism. To decide whether a given theory is theistic or pantheistic, we have above all to take into consideration what it teaches of creation. If it maintains that God created the world out of nothing according to His wisdom, and that finite and produced things are distinct in being from Him who is self-existent and infinite, it is plainly theistic. If, on the contrary, it does away with creation out of nothing, and if, accordingly, it takes the things that make up the universe for belongings, parts or modes of the divine nature, for the divine reality coming into external appearance, it is unmistakably pantheistic. For according to such a theory there is no other than Divine Being, no other than the divine nature entire in God, but divided in the things that appear to us, no other existence than that of God who is all in all. Now the new evolutionary theology looks on creation out of nothing as an obsolete idea which in the light of modern science must henceforward be discarded, and ignores, for the sake of complete unity, any reality that does not emanate from the eternal all-embracing Deity in such a manner as to share its very nature. This new theology is pantheistic as truly as Neoplatonism or as Brahminical philosophy was.

### VIII.

To sum up our discussion, every attempt to uphold the evolutionary theory by a pantheistic interpretation has proved a signal failure. Pantheism itself is a confusion of self-contradictory tenets. It is such in whatever form it is presented, whether the world be regarded as the body animated by God, or as a mode of divine activity, or as an emanation from the divine nature or the divine will; and it remains such whatever method is adopted to set it forth and whatever reasons are advanced to render it acceptable. To extricate it from its self-contradictions is as impossible as to clear falsehood of untruth.

If pantheism is an absurdity, nay, the most startling of all absurdities that have ever been begotten by the erring mind of man, it stands to reason that it cannot redeem the idea of evolution from the charge of intrinsic contradiction, if by evolution is meant the transition of the one absolute, self-existing being from indeterminateness to determinateness by its own immanent activity. On the contrary, we must expect that it should only add new inconsistencies to previous incongruities. So, in fact, it has been shown to



do. It not only fails to account for cosmic unity or to establish the fact of universal evolution, but has in the attempt to account for the one and to establish the other, been spun out into doctrinal systems which embody the most bewildering absurdities.

Pantheistic evolution, therefore, does not fulfil the hopes that have so fondly been based on it. It does not support the reality of the universe, but reduces finite beings to mere appearances, to mere modes of activity. It does not exalt, but stultifies human reason. It does not evince the greatness of God, but confounds Him with the vilest things, and attributes the lowest qualities to Him. Heaping contradictions on contradictions, it becomes destructive in its tendency. Instead of terminating in harmonious beauty and universal perfection, it terminates in the darkness and confusion of pessimism.

To say that evolution of all from God can be reconciled with theism or improves the theistic doctrine is the plainest untruth. The system which holds that God is all, because He develops into the universe, denies a personal Deity, and thereby diametrically opposes itself to theism; nay more, if it completely merges God in the world so as to eliminate His transcendency, it is, though not in terms, yet in reality, atheistical.

To go still farther and to avouch that pantheistic evolution is not only compatible with Christian views, but enlightens Christianity by reconciling it with reason, is far more than the height of absurdity. Many a reader will find it impossible to understand what meaning may be conveyed by such a term as pantheistic Christianity. And if, indeed, he has but the slightest idea of Christian religion, this impossibility to understand is pardonable. Prof. Schurman has, however, come to clear up this puzzling conception by his recent speculation. We are informed by him that the events, and especially the miracles related in the Gospel, are not real facts, but symbols of metaphysical truths, which the enlightened mind must decipher. Modern philosophy, we are further told, has successfully commenced to perform its task, and is now resetting the religion of Christ in the framework of contemporary knowledge.<sup>1</sup> By doing so it is fatal only to those Christian confessions which have been based on antiquated psychology, anthropology, cosmology, and history. It sets aside only decrepit belief, and what it destroys it replaces with truths discovered by cultivated reason. Understood in this purer light and cleared from inherited misrepresentations, Christianity embraces the following dogmas as its basis. Christ is God-man as we all are, only in a higher degree or a pre-eminent sense; for all men are sons of God in whom

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<sup>1</sup> *Belief in God*, p. 261.

they live. He is the Saviour of mankind only inasmuch as He is the standard-bearer of civilization and as he exercises a vitalizing power by His gracious personality.<sup>1</sup> He is the regenerator of man, not by resuscitating him from spiritual death and restoring him to spiritual life, but by bringing him to the consciousness of being one with God, because the new birth of the soul consists in the recognition and appropriation of our union with the Deity.<sup>2</sup> There is no sin from which we need be redeemed as from a guilt, sin being a necessary moment in divine evolution.<sup>3</sup> Nor is there any punishment which we have to fear in the life to come, since God is only love, the Father of spirits, who cannot resort to punishment for the education of His children. Eternal bliss in God has not to be deserved as a reward ; for, as all are one with God by their nature, the ground of their communion with Him can never be broken.<sup>4</sup>

This language is clear enough, so clear, indeed, as to make all refutation unnecessary. It expresses the tenets of a philosophy which is the complete extermination of Christian belief, because it leaves intact none of the dogmas embodied in historical Christianity through all the centuries from the time of its foundation down to our days, and is an extermination of it as base and treacherous as the crime of the hidden assassin, because it assumes the name and the appearance of the religion which it attempts to extinguish by misrepresentations.

JOHN J. MING, S.J.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 255-260.

"I WILL THINK UPON RAHAB."

"MEMOR ERO RAHAB." How few of us think, when we read these words, that they refer to part of a country which is the constant subject of the political and scientific thought of our day, for *Rahab* is the Latin rendering of an ancient poetical name for Lower Egypt, and one which is still retained by the Arabs under the form of *Rib*, or *Reef*. The psalmist brought to mind a land, the recalling of an intelligent visit to which is a lasting pleasure through life; for it should open out to us five long avenues of delightful study and contemplation, each of which is deserving investigation, and is full of rewards to the explorer. It has been said, that to know the records of the cities of Athens, Rome, and Paris, embraces all needful acquaintance with history; we are inclined to think that two links are wanting in the chain, if we omit Aix-la-Chapelle and Alexandria; the former connects Imperial Rome with the German Empire and modern Europe's formation, the latter unites ancient Greece to Rome, and, moreover, was the nursery of Christendom. It may be, in the decay of earnest reading among us generally, that the reason is to be found why—notwithstanding the increasing crowds of visitors who flock to Egypt every year—not a tithe of them stay longer in Alexandria than to refresh themselves after their sea voyage, and await the afternoon train to bear them on to Cairo; the only recreation they take usually is a drive to the Pharos, which is neither the ancient one of classic fame nor upon its site, or to "Pompey's Pillar," which is not Pompey's. The result of this is, that we scarcely ever hear of anything save the dirt and squalor, the lath and plaster, of the city; and instead of this once renowned and mind-moving spot having stored the memory with new interests in a period of secular and ecclesiastical history that is little taught at school or college, the one city on earth is passed by which alone can fill up a page of the world's story. In Egypt, itself, we have a civilization not yet nearly unfolded to the learned, in the depths of its wondrous culture and wisdom, but one whose record must some day become a part of all education. It is but emerging, in noble fragments, needing time to connect; it remains to the vast majority, however, like a background of mist and indefinite shapes, without distinct outline or continuity. We see enough to show us that, Greek and Roman, whose culture has been hitherto the foundation upon which all our western training has been based,



were not originators, but were as indebted to Egypt as we have been to them; and we find that it is here that human thought united itself to that line of man's effort after mental development which is now displaying itself as stretching far away into ages quite undreamt of by us formerly.

To see Egypt, is to see the most precious picture-book that the world can display; three months carefully spent in this land affords far better information than years spent in reading Egyptian, Greek, or Christian antiquities in the usual manner. Every place you visit is an illustrated lecture upon probably all three subjects—the wonders of the world, of all time, are here demanding your judgment upon them; the names of men who had almost seemed fables can here be traced, their works still seen, their very bodies, perchance, gazed upon beneath a glass case. Sacred and profane literature can be learnt together in so enticing and bewitching a manner that the student knows no toil, and is even unconscious of the fullness of his mental storehouse, only realizing that he has been having the most enjoyable holiday of his life; and all this is gained by making a stay in a winter resort one of regulated purpose and thought.

Directly we leave Alexandria, we find period heaped upon period—Pharaohic, Grecian, Roman, Coptic, Saracen—in so perplexing a manner, that, like as in a section of geological strata, unless we have made some study of each separately, we are unable to appreciate the discrimination. At Alexandria we are at the source of three of these periods, for there Alexander the Greek was its founder and established the house of the Ptolemy's; there, Augustus Cæsar, the Roman, succeeded to the last member of that house, and there came St. Mark, the Evangelist, and organized the African Church. It is true that the Grecian history of the city is not laid in the days with which we are usually familiar, not in those of Attic story, but rather those when it bore upon its cheek the hectic flush of decline; or when, like the fabled swan, bursting forth into sweet song, it hushed itself in death with this proof of its power and its beauty. Alas! like that song, there is little remaining here in Alexandria but the echo "through the aisles of the ages," although all along the Nile's flood up to beautiful Philæ, you will be able to find noble evidences of it; but still, to be upon a site, to see the conformations of ground, to recall upon these shores the great men who have trod its sands, and to gather up tradition, are all helps in the reconstruction of a past which lies at the very antipodes to the present condition of the place.

It would be well, therefore, for travellers to halt at Alexandria for a while, and collect their mental resources together, if they desire to make an intellectual visit to this instructive land, for, what

a "faded flower, a broken ring, a tress of golden hair," is to the lover, that, a broken mound, or half-buried column, is to the student of the past. In all of us, conception is quickened and memory revived by being upon the scene, and put *en rapport* with some relic of the period, or object upon which we desire to reflect—the lie of the country and its setting, the aspects of nature herself, all enable us to bridge over time and to stand at the portals of a land where imagination has legitimate and free play within certain limits of information and probability. Let us, therefore, as we approach Alexandria from across the dancing azure waters of the Mediterranean, beneath the glorious sun, and in the refreshing breeze of early morning, bring back some of the thoughts which crowd for utterance upon a visit to its historic shores.

We strain our eyes in vain for some sign of even the continent, far less of a city, when under a score of miles away from it. The long low stretch of tawny sands as receding as the brow of Africa's children, appears but as the vapor where water and sky meet, and it is not before we enter the harbor, and the white domes and minarets arise before us, that we Mogrebins—dwellers in the sunset-land—realize that we are really in the "The East"—that title which has so often made our hearts palpitate with eager desire, which is childhood's first-known geography, and that never loses the romantic infatuation and wonder which early years weave around it. The conformation of the coast, as we draw near, is like the initial letter of the land of Misr, or shall we say like the stamp of the hoof of the sacred cow Isis itself? A second harbor upon our left, separated by an isthmus, is the ancient one at whose base lay the Ptolemeian town, and called, by a perversity frequently met with, the New Port. Now it is only possible for shallow native craft, and it is into the magnificent western harbor that the ships of Europe enter with safety upon the broad and brilliant waters. The spit of land which separates the two bays has been formed chiefly in post-Grecian times from the ruins of temples and palaces—a *via doloris* like that stretching across Sedgemoor—made of the stones of Glastonbury Abbey. It is now a broad causeway upon which much of the modern town stands, projecting into the sea in shape like the crutch topped staff with which St. Anthony of the Theban Desert is usually represented. It was the ancient Heptastadium—the seven-furlong aqueduct which, springing from rock to rock, connected the city with the Isle of Pharos at its extremity.

Nestling in the hollow of its seaward face is a roadstead protected by outlying rocks and whose name—Pirates' Way—tells of perils now happily unexperienced by those who venture to visit these waters, but scarcely yet beyond man's memory. Its evil

fame is of a very venerable antiquity, for it was probably one of its fréquenters, Dionides by name, who was brought up before the great founder of the city over 2000 years ago, and was asked by what right he infested these seas, robbing and plundering peaceful men. "By what right, most potent Emperor," answered the bravo, "do you ravage the world? Am I a robber because I have but one ship and you a conqueror because you have a fleet?"

Those outlying rocks too have their story, for upon them Proteus, the pastor of Poseidon, was to be seen in Homeric days, reclining with his porpoises and dolphins shepherded around him during the midday heat. He may do so still, but the sun at that hour is too hot to permit of many of us making the exertion to find him, and yet, if we did catch him napping there, he would tell us our "fortunes" and that without any crossing of palm with silver or gold, for do not Herodotus and Diodorus say that he was an ancient king of the Gypsies? His ocean flocks and herds you may see dancing around your ship, and the Hippocampi which are his chariot horses you can buy, dry and shrivelled up with overwork, but we, at least, never have been able to arouse sufficient energy to go in quest of him at noon-tide. Some consider that he was the first Haroun-al-Raschid of history, and Lucian who lived here and was secretary to the Roman prefect studied the question; at all events, ever since his time the assuming of varied disguises to impose upon their subjects has been a very favorite tradition of eastern potentates.

The island portion of the peninsula gave its name to the wonderful Pharos from which all modern representatives are called. Most people think that the light-house upon our left as we enter the present used or western harbor is upon the site of its historical progenitor and your driver and dragoman will take you there and assure you that such is the case: but learn thus early to believe neither, unless you know the truth beforehand. On our right as we continue our way, a strip of fort-adorned land separates the sea from Lake Mareotis which lies behind, and it was along that strip that Napoleon marched his troops upon Alexandria on July 1, 1798, before the British were awake. All this western shore is crested with the quarries from which ancient and modern Alexandrias have been cut, and within the bosom of the same hills the dead of the ages past sleep their long sleep. The pagan Greeks, of course, cremated their dead, but the Christians continued the custom of this country and of the Jews of embalming. Their existing catacombs are extensive, lying to the west of the town, in natural harmony with the thought of its being the bourne of the setting sun of life when its day's course had run.



It is into the "New Port" that all our thoughts must go when we think of the fleet of an Antony or Cleopatra, brilliant with color, resting upon its waters, or of the storm tossed and crowded boats bearing the Crusaders to besiege a soldan of Cairo. We may remember, too, the many pilgrims who have been borne across its waves perilling their lives not only at sea but also by land, that they might make their pious visits to Mataryeh's Garden of the Repose or to the monasteries of the desert. The Apostle of Egypt himself, St. Mark, thus approached Alexandria, and it was while doing so that he made his first convert, who succeeded him as the city's bishop. Tradition tells how the Evangelist as he entered the harbor broke his shoe, and asked a cobbler on board, one Anian by name, to repair it. The man undertook to do so but hurting his hand with his awl he exclaimed: "Oh, my God!" upon which the holy traveller "improved the occasion" and with such success that the cobbler invited the stranger to his house; and the stay there resulted in the conversion of the whole family to the new faith.

You must entirely depend upon your imaginative powers to form any picture of what the appearance of Alexandria must have been to one approaching it in Ptolemeian times, and raise up around the old harbor a gleaming city of marble, rising terrace upon terrace with noble temples and palaces, set in fair spaces, with their flights of steps and colonnades all lovely in their disciplined relation and proportion. Imposing groups of majestic structures made it rival Rome itself in magnificence, for one pride of its rulers lay in the splendor of their town and in the treasures of learning they there amassed. You may dream dreams of its superb and impressive appearance; and you will be little likely to exceed the sketch that history has kept for us of its beauty, but all traces of which, like its founder's bones, are now only to be sought in the dust upon its shores.

The quay of Alexandria presents a scene which no traveller can ever forget, especially one fresh from the pale-faced Europe. Men of every nation and every kindred under heaven are to be found in the mighty crowd who throng around; and although, at first, you may experience a sense of suspicion as you mingle with these dark-skinned, gleaming-eyed peoples, yet in a week or so that will entirely disappear, while no time dulls the charm that their sinewy frames and graceful motions produce.

Graeco-Syrian, rather than Egyptian, the city has ever been and remains. Ancient Egypt was far more intimate with the ship of the desert than with that of the sea, and beyond a-voyaging over its own Nile or making the Red Sea's passage, it probably did little seafaring. It is true, however, that there is some record in

the eighteenth dynasty of the defeating of the Tyrians in a naval engagement at Cyprus; but such records are scant. It was the Greek who was forever congregating here, even before Alexander had the dream bidding him found the city near

"A certain island called  
Pharos, that with the high 'waved sea is walled.'"

—CHAPMAN'S HOMER.

Strabo seems to suggest that it was to prevent this people settling in any numbers that the small Egyptian garrison town of Rhacôtis arose here at all. The Greek forms still the chief part of the population, for the race is no more dead than their language, although England has tried so hard to divorce the moderns from their ancestors, or at least to give them two tongues. Hither they come from the isles of the Mediterranean and its coasts, bringing with them the purest physical type of the ancient stock that we can see; their stature medium, their figures fine and slender, their features exquisitely modelled, their eyes languishing, lustrous, and as mobile and unrestrained as all their actions. Alas! we cannot look upon them for all this with any delight; they appear to be wrecks—constitutional wrecks; the Horatian verb *Graecari* seems illustrated in them all. Worn out with debauchery, drink, and want of honest sleep and work, is the impression they convey at first sight; and alas! for a second time, and with many a classic Ai, Ai—a longer acquaintance does not remove first impressions. The French make *un Grec* equal to a cheat, and the Roman had many a similar expressive phrase; "*Graeca fides*," meant "no credit," and to purchase "with Greek credit"—"*Graeca fide mercari*" (Plaut.)—meant to pay ready money. There may have been much of a rival nation's antipathy in all this, and the race had even then degenerated, we suppose; but they are just what Juvenal, the exile at Assouan, describes them when he says:

"The race are actors born; smile, and your Greek  
Will laugh until the tears run down his cheek,  
He'll weep as soon, if he observe a friend  
In tears, but feels no grief. For fire you send  
In winter; straight his overcoat he gets;  
And, if you cry, How hot it is; he sweats."—SAT. iii., 100.

No, we must call him a Levantine now and not sully the fair fame of our ancient friends by styling him by the name full of noble association to those of the old-school of teaching. Here he is a "*Graeculus esuriens*"—an ever-hungry Greekling—counting all trades as his own, compassing heaven and earth, if only he can "*do*" one. The slang term "to levant" must have arisen as an

expression from commercial experience with Levantines, and since it is said that no Jew can exist amid them, their science of modern day trade principles ought to excite profound admiration.

You will probably drive, directly you land, to the Hôtel Khedivial, leaving your servant and a representative of Pharaoh Cook to bring your luggage through the mazes of boats and custom house officialdom. This hotel stands in the midst of what was once the aristocratic quarter of the ancient city—the Bruchium—and temples and palaces, university and mausoleum, must have all lain in its neighborhood. The Rue de la Porte Rosette runs in front of it, a shrunken and narrowed thoroughfare on the same site as the ancient street along which Bucephalus, perchance, paced, bearing the world's conqueror, and whose stones must have been trod by most of the men bearing the greatest names we know in early science, philosophy and theology—once it was one of the world's noblest thoroughfares, and is one still for memory to people with its noblest children. You may go about the modern city; but you will be driven back upon the recollections of the past to find anything to delight you; the houses are ill-built, the bazaars of the meanest kind, the streets narrow and dirty, of course, but the most un-Eastern of any place you will see, and the Grand Piazza on the clearance of the part destroyed in 1882, though respectably clean and open, is French and absolutely uninteresting; it needs an architect like its first, Dinocrates, and a ruler like its founder, to restore to us its beauty. Let us rather, as we pace its shores, think over a few names which naturally suggest themselves to every one who comes here.

The mighty Alexander by every right stands first, for he was perhaps the most wonderful genius the world has ever had given to it. His life should be read by all who come to his city. Would that we had that written by his successor, Ptolemy Lagi, copies of which may still lie buried in the sand and tombs around. He was only thirty-two when he died from our modern curse of drink, they say, and all his life's work was done in twelve years! If he had had a Homer to sing his knightly deeds and to tell of his human frailties, his life would be of more value for our reading than that of Achilles over whose grave he wept. All his successors here, even down to the last Cleopatra, seem to have been a line of more enlightened sovereigns than the world had ever seen before, or has possessed since, in their public policy and wise and liberal endowment of literature and art. The Arabs have made Alexander a prophet and Cleopatra a witch, and they show a tomb of the former on the way to "Pompey's Pillar," but that is "a way they have!" The great Soma where he lay in his alabaster or crystal sarcophagus—after the unworthy Coccoes had appropriated the original



one, as Strabo says—is thought to have been where the railway for Ramleh now has its station.

The notorious Cleopatra was the seventh of that pretty name, which means a "father's pride," but which sounds such a mockery in her case, for, like the evil woman in Proverbs, "her house inclined to death and her paths to the dead. None that went to her returned again, neither took they hold of the paths of life." She and her family were a criminous circle. As you stand upon the shore of the Port of Eunostos, or the Happy Return—as the old harbor was poetically styled—you will think of that awful scene when her young brother, ruling at the age of thirteen, stood here, too, watching a couple of men row out to a Roman war-galley anchored in the deeper water. He has sent them to bring to shore his father's protector, Pompey the Great, who is craving asylum after his defeat by Julius Cæsar at the battle of Pharsalia. The poor wife, Cordelia, and the son, Sextus, watch the once powerful triumvir stepping into the boat, and follow him with their hearts and eyes as he is rowed across the bay. At a prearranged signal from the boy-king, the two sailors drop their oars and throw themselves upon their passenger and, amidst shrieks rending the air from those he had just left behind, they murder their victim in sight of all men, and having cut off his head, cast it upon the sands at the feet of the inhuman lad. The curse of blood is not long in overtaking the wicked boy, for, while the conquering Julius is chambering with the sister, he is drowned in the Nile, as he sought for himself the escape that he had refused to another. Cleopatra herself poisoned her second brother when she was but seventeen years old; her lover (Julius) was stabbed to death at the foot of the statue of her brother's victim, Pompey the Great; her second lover, Marc Antony, committed suicide upon finding himself betrayed by her into the hands of Octavianus, afterwards Augustus Cæsar; and when the wretched woman found that she could not make a similar dupe of this Cæsar, she ended her wicked life at thirty-nine by the poisonous fangs of the cerastes, or horned viper.

Just as a record full of manly deeds began the line of Alexandrian rulers, so one full of heartless crime and ruthless tragedies ended it; and between come pages jewelled with names which have left the world boundlessly indebted to them in every field of learning and research. Two beautiful women are connected with the first of the Ptolemys—for Soter, who was governor under Alexander and subsequently king, married first the lovely and frail Thais and afterwards Berenice. It was the latter who vowed her glorious hair to Venus should her husband return victorious from an expedition, and, upon his doing so, she cut off her rich locks

and hung them in the temple of the goddess; but Jupiter carried them off, they said, and astronomer-royal Conon found them in a constellation, which is still known as *Coma Berenices*. Soter had not only an eye for beauty, but also a keen appreciation of learning; he became a great patron of such men as the native-born Euclid among others. His son, too, Philadelphus, is well known as the gatherer of the first great library, starting with such books as he could acquire from the collection that Aristotle had made, he who had been tutor to the city's founder, and obtaining, likewise, a number of Jewish and Egyptian manuscripts. It was he who had the Hebrew scriptures translated into the vernacular, the present Septuagint, the execution of which has been surrounded with so many legends. Galen, the physician; Claudius Ptolemy, the parent of the Ptolemaic system of astronomy; Eratosthenes, the discoverer of longitude; Callimachus, Theocritus, Zenodotus and Philetas, the poets; Hegesias, the moral philosopher, were a few out of the galaxy of magi who adorn his reign. But we might almost take each successive Ptolemy, and find that they welcomed here all students, and the reading of their biographies is, in itself, a visit to the springs of Western literature and knowledge. Even the last of the race, Cleopatra VII., made use of her influence over Marc Antony to obtain for her city the library of the kings of Pergamus, and by her encouragement of such men as the physician Dioscorides, and the computator of the Julian Calendar, Sosigenes, she displayed the only redeeming feature of her evil career. We ought not to go to Alexandria without becoming intimately acquainted with all this intellectual history; for its colleges are the source of almost everything in learning which we possess, and we remain incapable of making rational employment of half that we have received through them. Grecian literature comes to us preserved by Alexandria. We actually continue to use for our very grammars of that language a notebook made by an Alexandrian pedagogue in the first century of our era; and, although we enlarge upon it to a greater or less extent, it remains, notwithstanding our boasted learning, practically the same, and based upon no true analysis of the tongue such as research has provided. Our modern scientific schools of teaching are but a return to those that existed in Alexandria, and they again probably only methodized and published Egyptian knowledge. For natural science, it is to Alexandria we look for the systematizing of astronomy, geology, physics, etc.; and its schools continued to flourish up to the Mohametan invasion of the seventh century. Nor did they die even then; for the very atmosphere seems to have been so impregnated with incentive to mental culture that the Arab, later on, learnt from Coptic and Nestorian teachers his physics and from Jews his medicine.

Dissection of the human body was not permitted by the Koran, and hence it came that the Arab applied himself to the study of drugs, from whence many a word, like alcohol, has come to us, while Geber is regarded as the father of chemical science. Their extraction of metals from their ores led to alchemy, and their mathematical researches gave us algebra and the very figures we employ.

A recent writer has endeavored to show that, not central Asia but central Africa, was the source whence the human race sprang, and that coming down the Nile's stream it thence overflowed the world. It is very sure that we are daily learning the truth that, if Egypt be not the *Terrarum parens*, yet she certainly is the *Artium Mater*, as Macrobius calls her, and countless hosts have enriched themselves and their countries from the treasures of her wisdom.

We have already said that, with the coming of Augustus Cæsar and the death of Cleopatra, the history of Alexandria links itself on to the Roman empire, and there is a contemplation which very naturally unites itself to these events, for in Augustus' reign our Lord was born and a few years later came down into Egypt. The history of early Christianity is the history of Alexandria, and nowhere is it more interestingly studied in its literary and ecclesiological aspects than here. This land was very early in enrolling itself under the new religion, and so popular did it become that it has been said that, like its divine Founder, although born in Judea, it was nurtured in Egypt; the people took naturally to it, and the deserts of yellow sands along this rich Nile valley became mystical paradises, blossoming with lives of sanctity and self-denial.

The hermit's caves, the convents, the lauras or monastic villages are innumerable and make a study of themselves, while the churches abound in interest and antiquity. We have told above how St. Mark made his first convert as he entered the harbor of Eunostos about thirty years after our Lord had been crucified; four years subsequent to his arrival St. Peter writes to the Asians that the "Church which is at Babylon co-elect with you, and St. Mark, my son, salute you,"<sup>1</sup> and there can be little doubt that this Babylon is the ancient Roman fortress tower near old Cairo which still bears that name. It is worth while reflecting upon the history of its first Apostle, for he is little thought of now by visitors; nor do their guide-books lead them to trace his residence here. There seems something in common between St. Peter and Mark, for the latter had many "turnings-back" apparently in his life's struggle for the truth. Some think that he never was a disciple of our Lord while He was on earth, others that he was one

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<sup>1</sup> I. Peter v., 13.



of the seventy-two and of those who "turned back" at the "hard saying."<sup>1</sup> He is said to be the "young man" of his own gospel<sup>2</sup> who, sleeping in his house in the Kedron valley, was disturbed by the noise in the night of the arresting of our Saviour, and, rushing out to discover its cause, was seized by the soldiery of Pilate, but being without garments, save the usual waistband, he slipped from their hold. It was to his mother's house that St. Peter went when released from prison in Jerusalem, and where the Christians were found assembled for their midnight services. Mark seems to have "turned back" from the work of the ministry when travelling with St. Paul and Barnabas in Asia Minor and was, therefore, distrusted by the former as a companion for his second Apostolic journey, whereupon St. Barnabas took him to Cyprus. It seems a very human, natural and pathetic story, and bears no trace of the fable and myth which some critics have tried so hard to find in all sacred writings which Christianity treasures. The Evangelist eventually was sent to Alexandria by St. Peter<sup>3</sup> and preached in various places.<sup>4</sup> He set up his episcopal see at Alexandria, and from his day to the present there has not lacked a successor to the "Evangelical Throne of St. Mark." His occupancy of that throne was short for the great work he did, and eight years after his arrival, the worshipers of Osiris-Apis, regarding him as a magician because of his miraculous powers, they said, seized him, April 24th, and dragging him by ropes, to the temple of the Serapeum, sowed the streets with that seed of the martyr's blood which sprang up eventually into so prolific and vigorous a crop. The beautiful building of the great Serapeum is thought to have stood where "Pompey's Pillar," one of its glorious columns, still rises into the pure air, and to have extended over the adjoining Arab graveyard.<sup>5</sup>

The great church which rose over his house and relics was called by Arabs the mosque of 1001 columns, and is said to have been upon the borders of Lake Mareotis and just beyond the western limit of the present town, where the quarantine now stands. Nothing exists to tell of its rich and spacious courts, with their colonnades and porticoes of granite, porphyry and precious mar-

<sup>1</sup> John vi.

<sup>2</sup> xiv, 51.

<sup>3</sup> Epiph. Haer., lib., p. 457, Dindorf; Euseb., H. E., ii., 16.

<sup>4</sup> Niceph., H. E., ii., 43.

<sup>5</sup> It may be that, with the retentiveness of ancient traditions, we have a memory of the Bull, Apis, that was here revered, recalled in customs such as that which still prevails at Alter do Chao, in Portugal, and other places, of leading an ox garlanded with flowers to the Church upon St. Mark's Day and there offering to the patrociny of the Saint all the calves of the year; and the morrow of his day has the name, we believe, in parts of England of "Cowslip day," in which there may be some similar alliance of thought between the Evangelist and that pretty meadow flower.

bles; for, together with the numerous other churches of the city, its costly materials were taken to build the palaces of Abbasside princes and powerful pachas. It was the insecurity to the Christians occasioned by the arrival, in the seventh century, of the Arab conqueror, which led to the transference of the Evangelist's honored remains to Venice, where they are at the present day, and the great patriarchal church of that fair city of the waters was erected to enshrine Egypt's apostle and protomartyr. An ancient mosaic exists above the organ gallery there, apparently of eleventh century workmanship (1000-1071), representing the history of the transaction. In A.D. 828 the Arab spoilers were wrecking the churches of Alexandria, and began to bereave of its precious pillars and marbles the beautiful shrine which piety had erected over St. Mark. Some Venetian merchants, who probably often had paid their devotions at the tomb, together with multitudes of pilgrims from over sea, happened to be in the church one day when a party of Moslem destroyers entered and pursued their ruthless task. The thoughts and anxieties of all were centred in the preservation of their patron's bones from violation, and the traders, realizing the peril, proposed to two of the guardians that they should send the relics, for safe custody, to Venice. The word "*furantur*" in the inscription would seem to show that the Coptic clergy were not acting in concert with the rest of their brethren in agreeing to the transfer; otherwise, both parties might have been influenced by the most laudable motives. The Coptic priest Theodorus and Staurgius, a monk, consented to the merchants' proposals, and laying the body of St. Claudian in the shrine, they placed that of St. Mark in a basket of palm branches and covered it over with green shrubbery. The rigidity of the coastguard surveillance had still to be overcome; but for this the ready wit of the sailors found an escape, for they overlaid their burthen with a quantity of pork-flesh that defiled by its touch both Jew and Arab, and sallying forth with their lead, they shouted "*Khanzeer! Khanzeer!*"—like to the cry "*Room for the Leper! Room!*" All drew aside from pollution, and the mosaic gives one of those simple, natural and striking mediæval touches, telling of all this by making the custom-house officer whose boat is alongside, release his hold of the bulwarks of the Venetian craft and drop backwards when the cry of "*Khanzeer!*" is raised by the crew. The Venetians retain in grateful memory the names of the merchants in their histories and in this mosaic—*Tribunus*, or *Sonus*—*Suono*, of *Malamocco*—being the one, and *Rusticus*—*Rustico*, of *Torcello*—the other, and they honor the last day of January as that of the translation of the relics to their island home. Immediately after their arrival, St. Mark was united with the old patron, St. Theodore of

Heraclea, in the tutelage of the city. The church was pulled down that a finer one might rise upon its site, and just as it was completed, in A.D. 976, it was entirely destroyed by fire. Vigorous in faith and action, the citizens immediately set about erecting the present basilica, and artists were collected from Constantinople, and precious marbles gathered from various lands visited by the merchant fleet of the republic, and a law passed that every vessel trading in the Levant should assist in the enriching, by monument and costly column, the resting-place of the writer of the second Gospel story.<sup>1</sup> The pulpit and screen came from Constantinople's desecrated Cathedral of St. Sophia, and many a pillar and stone there has a history which we need not now detail. You may still see the original mosaic upon fête days, when the gallery is unlocked, placed on one side of the dome (an engraving is in the "Archæological Journal," vii., p. 258); you may see St. Theodoric, the Strathilates, or general, standing upon the Nile's dragon, and also St. Mark's winged lion upon their columns, and some few sheets they can show you, upon very fine Egyptian papyrus, of what were long thought to be the original MS. of the Evangelist's Gospel; but the relics of the saint you will not find, for they are hidden deep in a secret place beneath one of the great pillars of the Doge's stately chapel, where no tribunes or justices may get at them, but where we may utter with confidence the aspiration "Pax tibi, Marce, Evangelista meus."

The Church of St. Mark at Alexandria, though deprived of its great treasure, was restored by the Copts, although never regaining its former richness, and they made it, by the necessity of their existence, so strong a fortress that the Saracens, in 1219, had to destroy it, fearful lest it should fall into the hands of the Crusaders and become the source of attack upon their flanks. It is entirely an unpursued inquiry as to why the soldiers of the Cross did not obtain tangible help from the native Christians of Egypt. They were a numerous part of the community, and might have rendered powerful assistance in the common cause. It may have been the recent schisms of East and West, or it may have been the fear lest their later state should be worse than their present, which led to their apparent apathy; but we cannot but think that if they had united in the effort then made, the success of those wars would have been assured. Even to this present day the Crusades have left a powerful impression upon the Saracen mind that the Cross will prove victorious in the end; and they have a traditional prophecy that most of their cities are to fall under its sway. In Jerusalem they have walled up the "Golden Gate" of the Temple

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<sup>1</sup> D'Agincourt, ii., 154.



by which the conqueror shall one day enter, and every Friday at prayer-time the city gates were closed to stay the expected invader. Mecca itself is to succumb and be succeeded by Alexandria as the holy city; this, too, is to yield, and the Moslem will have to seek a fresh centre somewhere in the regency of Tunis. Kairawan is to follow, giving way in turn to Rosetta or Rashid, which continues impregnable in "saecula saeculorum."

The Copts of Alexandria have their present church behind the Khedivial Hôtel, where they show a picture of St. Michael that, they say, St. Luke painted when he came to this land. They also declare that when St. Mark's body was removed to Venice they retained his head, which is still here, together with the relics of over seventy-two of his successors,<sup>1</sup> who were once styled "judges of the whole world," and each of whom interred his predecessor, previously placing his dead hand upon his own head. (Liberatus.) The orthodox Greeks still use the Liturgy of St. Mark, and although the Copt employs St. Gregory's in Lent and St. Basil's on ordinary occasions, still they retain St. Cyril's for feastful seasons, and this, to all intents and purposes, is that of their first teacher, the Evangelist.

This city was the home and source of almost all the schools of thought which have arisen within the Christian Church, and those existing amongst us to-day are but the recrudescence of what has been threshed out here by giants. It was as Protean in its mind as it has been in its rulers. When turbid with the confusion of the religious systems of ancient Egypt, Greece, Rome, and Judæa, into it came a clear stream flowing from the fountain of the Incarnation, and the influence of its presence is recognized in the efforts which are made to subtilize and elevate all previous teaching. The spiritualizing of the Rabbinical beliefs, the philosophical speculations of Neo-Platonism, the systems of the Agnostics, all make the times a study very suited to our own day. The Adamantine doctor, Origen, is an example of the combining influence of the second century upon a remarkable genius; none can doubt his earnestness. He was the son of a martyr for the faith of Christ, and he himself not only became an eunuch for the Gospel's sake, but even laid down his life for it at Tyre; yet all through his life his vision of the truth seems to have been rendered dim and his faith weak by the allegorizing and etherealizing of all religions to obtain a coalition of every section of belief, vulgar and philosophical. It was here in Alexandria that the great Arian heresy arose which rent all Europe asunder, and which is revived as if fresh by the pygmies of to-day. Arius was a presbyter in the city, and like a dock leaf

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<sup>1</sup> Neale's *Patr. of Alexandria* and Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*.

reared beside the nettle, here the great Athanasius was born of heathen parents, he who refuted the heresiarch at the Council of Nicæa in A.D. 325. The latter seems to have been one of the most marvellous personalities in the world's history. To him, small of stature and bowed with thought, Catholic, Protestant, secularist, and even an infidel, Gibbon, together do homage. One of the curious imaginings of the late fascinating Dean Stanley was that in our English badge of St. George and the dragon the great doctor of the Church was both the magician and the monster of that George, and an Arian bishop of Alexandria was the hero,<sup>1</sup> so that the last expiring trace of the revenge of the Arians on their great adversary was to be seen in the image which our North country peasantry preserve in their mummers' play in the questionable guise of "that old Serpent, the Devil!"

Three columns of the ancient basilica Church of St. Athanasius stood in Alexandria when the French army entered Egypt, and are shown in the "Description de l'Egypte," then made; the remainder had been taken to adorn a mosque near by, while the relics of the *Malleus Arianorum* lie at rest, after many an exile and return, in the city of Venice.

It was from Alexandria that the Emperor Diocletian issued his edict for the great persecution of the Christians in A.D. 301, an order which vibrated even to St. Alban's in our far western isle; and one of those who suffered here in Egypt from that decree has her name famous throughout Europe. What a source of inspiration to mediæval art was the legend of St. Katherine being transferred by angels to Sinai's top. Some mementoes of her are still preserved in the Greek Church of Alexandria, but the jealous care of their dead made the early Christians bear her to the convent in Horeb, where her bones have remained at peace for sixteen centuries. Her shrine upon the mountain peak led to the custom of dedicating to her memory churches upon lofty situations, an honor which she shares with the Archangel St. Michael, the prince of the celestial hosts. The architects made the instrument of her passion the design for those lovely wheel windows of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; piety allied her name with many a radiant flower; while boys kept her November feast-day by burning their "Katherine-wheel," and maidens made holiday of "Katheryn-tyde."

But where are we to end, if we attempt to relate the saints and martyrs, the scientists and literary men whom Alexandria produced? They need a book, not an essay, to tell of their works and the dowry of blessing they bequeathed to Europe. Few volumes

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<sup>1</sup> Eastern Church, lect. vii.

would be more instructive or helpful. Occasionally a writer takes up the life of a St. Anthony, the hermit of the Nitrian desert, or a Hypatia, and without incorporating himself with the times of his subject or appreciating the struggles of the minds of men in that early renaissance period, draw us such a picture as may make the contrast with our own day appear satisfactory. They forget that we start with humanity enriched by the influences conferred by the struggles of souls after higher life through eighteen centuries, and to us correspondence with the divine light of conscience is no giant's labor, but in those early times it must have been the task for a hero. The local characteristics of human nature in Alexandria were such that they could only be welded and purified through many a conflict. The stubbornness of the Copt, the light ephemeral nature of the Greek, the opportunism of the Jew, were native elements ever present, and they who disregard these influences are little likely to value the victory which Christianity won. The new religion did not ever claim to transmute nature, but to be a heaven-sent germ to plant in earthen soil, changing the spring of action, and hence moulding and tempering its environment.

Before we close we would like to make a plea for the Copts of to-day. They seem now, as in the days of Pococke, to recite their long offices without understanding or devotion, but we can only judge "*secundum visionem oculorum*," and that is no true judgment; but their jealous preservation of their ancient ritual, probably nearly as old as Christianity itself, and their life and customs, make them most interesting studies to the student. It is little to the credit of the hearts and minds of superficial writers that they see in these degraded Christians but an occasion to mock at a faith which has shown itself powerful enough to maintain this race intact through such a long period of dire oppression as they have endured. Twelve centuries of subjugation and cruel usage cannot pass over a people without deadening all fine feeling and intellectual activity. The fierce and zealous Moslem has visited the native Copt most severely for his constancy to his religion, so that they may truly be termed a nation of martyrs. To defraud them of their property, and to inflict upon them every form of extortion and cruelty, has been the behavior for ages of pachas and people. Turk and Arab have treated them as vile and polluting outcasts, of whom it was not only lawful but praiseworthy to show detestation. Driven to herd together in their wretchedness, away in desert places; shut up in fortress-like dwellings, open at any moment to the swooping down upon them of a dervish-led band of devotees who would kill every mortal they could find; doubtful of their existence under every change of local pacha or Egyptian ruler; and with day to follow day, and year to follow year, aye, even cen-



tury to succeed century, with no hand stretched out to stay their oppressor, and no hope to relieve the anxiety which these descendants of the Pharaohs and children of St. Mark had to endure,—can we be surprised that cowardliness, slyness and lying are the product of such helplessness, hopelessness, and weakness? And should not our profoundest compassion be moved when we see to what depths affliction can reduce a venerable race? How it is that they are not mentally incapable, is a miracle. They have, however, been the unhonored teachers to their conquerors in architecture, carving in wood and stone, working in mosaic and the making of textile fabrics, as well as being the clerks of their masters and the registrars of the Nile's risings. Such services have been but individual and not recognized to the race. They seem to have had upon them the dreadful curse which Ezekiel foretold to their land, that it should "be the basest of kingdoms; neither shall it exalt itself any more among the nations." Their power has come down; their soil has been given into the hands of the stranger; it has been laid waste with all that dwelt therein. May we not hope that at length the prophetic doom has been worked out, and that the centuries of penance endured by this remnant of the ancient stock may have atoned for the sins of their forefathers? May we not hope that this ancestral people, under England's righteous rule, may now regain their lost nobility of character, and that upon the dead bones of their external observances may break the enlivening spirit of that faith which they have endured so much to vindicate?

ALFRED E. P. RAYMUND DOWLING, B.A., OXON.

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS TO THE POPE'S  
ENCYCLICAL.

TWO cries for religious unity have recently gone forth to the world. Thinking men have as never before, been drawn to consider the anomaly presented by the great diversity that has existed in religious matters among the nations of the globe. God-fearing men, profound students, earnest souls have bewailed such religious disunion, strife producing and oft to deeds of violence inciting; have seen that such a state of things is disorder, and not according to the dictates of right reason, and have thought that the warring sects of Christendom could be brought together and in peace and harmony follow the doctrines of Jesus Christ. They recognize the need of unity in religion—in divine worship—more imperative here than in other branches of human effort. They see that the multiplicity of religious beliefs, the diversity of Christian creeds and churches, by no means tends to the beauty or to the harmony or to the strength either, of religion or of Christianity. And they wish to obey the Apostle's exhortation to be, "careful to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. One body and one Spirit; one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all."<sup>1</sup>

The World's Fair Congresses of Religions took place a twelfth-month since in a Western metropolis, and eminent representatives of almost all the principal forms of religious belief labored to find a strong bond of union among them either of doctrine or of practical life. Many dissenting bodies of Christians assembled there too, if perchance they might destroy the bitter animosity of their differences, and sink their peculiarities of dogma and ritual in some radical and fundamental form of Christianity.

From this Parliament there resulted a clearer apprehension of religion as meaning the love and worship of God and the love and service of man. Greater liberty of thought and wider tolerance of opinion have been inculcated. The ideas of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man have been learned more thoroughly and impressively than ever before. And it is to be hoped as a permanent blessing originating in these Congresses that men will no longer persecute their brethren for conscience's sake, thinking that thereby they would be rendering a service to the Good and Almighty God. None appreciate these results more deeply than I; none thank God more sincerely. It is a good thing

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<sup>1</sup> Eph., iv.

for brethren to dwell together in unity. It will be an event of transcending importance for men of all nationalities and creeds, when they will truly recognize their common humanity. "'Twere a consummation devoutly to be wished,"—to cease strife and warfare, to put down angry and revengeful feelings, to honor honest opinions and respect fearless conduct, to see in every man the image of the Begetting Spirit, to have just regard for his rights to liberty and happiness and to remember the "One God and Father of all, who is above all and through all and in us all."

But while this is necessary for peaceful living and even for the cultivation of the arts and sciences and for mutual intercourse, social and commercial, it cannot suffice for unity of faith and religion. It will not make the Pantheist acknowledge a personal God, nor draw the heathen from his idols. It will not turn the Mohammedan pilgrim from Mecca to Jerusalem, nor lessen the Hindu belief in the transmigration of souls. It will not change the Hebrew's Messianic hope in the Christ yet to come, and would not cause the Christian to give up his hope and confidence in Christ already come. Though he may treat others with brotherly consideration, the Calvinist will not cease to hold to his predestination and the Methodist to his particular tenets. The Lutheran will not add to his two sacraments nor the Episcopalian to his three. The Anglican and the Greek will continue to deny Roman supremacy and the Catholic cannot be separated from the See of Rome and Peter and cannot relinquish his principle of submission to ecclesiastical authority in matters of faith and morals. Though all of us, children and creatures of the same heavenly Father may love one another as such; though we be good to our fellow-men and banish jealousy, strife and hostile practices; yet we shall be still, oh so very far from being "one body and one spirit as we are called in the one hope of our calling. One Lord, one faith, one baptism." There must be some bond stronger and less superficial to make us sink our individual differences; something that shall appeal to every one as coming from God, to the Jew and Gentile, to the Greek and barbarian, and by its cogency compel all to put aside their individual conceptions and private opinions and to come together in the sincere and earnest profession and acceptance of a common, universal creed or formula of faith and a uniform code of morality. A principle must be adopted that will require more than common benevolence and ordinary piety and charity, a principle that will lead us to what God has revealed to us all, and only to what He has thus revealed, not to what He may have vouchsafed to reveal to individuals. For religion consists not only in charity but also in hope and in faith; not only in acts of kindness but also in deeds of mortification; not simply in morality and honesty,



but also in doctrines and dogmas ; not merely in something to be done but as well in something to be believed. Faith without works is dead, but works without vivifying faith avail not unto justification. Doctrine must precede practice ; principles must precede action. No attempt has ever been made to establish a religion except it were based on certain formulas of dogma and principle, which were laid down as indisputable because of their divine authorship. Pope's :

“ For modes of faith let zealous bigots fight,  
He can't be wrong, whose life is in the right,”

can scarce be a standard or an ideal. The union of various religions and of Christian sects must remain a dream or Utopian fancy till approach be made to a settlement of the precise points of belief that God in His mercy and love has revealed to the human race and of the exact manner in which He desires and wills to be worshiped. What separates us is not that which we do, not our conduct, not our uniforms, not even our ritual, but our tenets, our creeds, our principles ; not that we disbelieve in God or in our common humanity, but that we differ widely in what we think God has said to us and about the worship He wants from us. The religious constitution that can unite us, is only that which shall have its origin in heaven, shall have been manifested to the world by God or His Son Jesus Christ, and to which we can always point and refer, saying, “ Thus saith the Lord thy God.”

In June last another call for religious union was sent forth—a call for the union of Christians in particular. It comes from one who, revered and honored by all, has the world's ear ; whose utterances have for seventeen years received the closest attention and profoundest consideration ; whom men the world over justly esteem for his wisdom, learning, sympathy with the aspirations of the race and sincere efforts for its amelioration. Borrowing his own thought, as our Saviour, on the eve of His death, prayed for His disciples that they might be one as He and the Father are one, so now the venerable Pontiff in his declining years, His vicar, sends to heaven a similar prayer and to Christendom a similar exhortation that we all be one. His letter is but an amplification of St. Paul's words to the Ephesians. May it produce abundant fruit. May it lead heathen and infidel to acknowledge God and whom He sent, Jesus Christ. May it bring all Christian people to the true fount of divine truth. May it show heresy its error and schism its disloyalty. May it enable all to come together in unity of that “ doctrine once delivered to the saints.” But what is the great Leo's principle of union ; what his remedy for existing dissensions ?

What the nature of the invitation addressed to all princes and people? He advises reconciliation and union with the Church of Rome; not such a union that would be brought about "by a certain kind of agreement in the tenets of belief and an intercourse of fraternal love. The true union between Christians is that which Jesus Christ, the author of the Church, instituted and desired, and which consists in a unity of faith and a unity of government." In his view, which is the only true view, the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, the supreme jurisdiction of St. Peter and his successors, can alone unite us in the fellowship with our Redeemer. That has been the claim of the Catholic Church from the beginning. She has repeated and insisted on the necessity of submission to the centre of Christian truth and the bond of external union. The fathers and doctors have invariably taught that "where Peter is, there is the Church"; and that on account of its superior power and primacy every particular church must adhere and be united to the Church of Rome where Blessed Peter erected his See for ever. His Holiness could not speak otherwise. He is conscious of what prerogatives Christ conferred on the prince of the Apostles. He knows that the Lord said to Peter: "Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church." He knows that the same Master said, too, "I will give to thee the *keys* of the kingdom of heaven," and, in reward for the Apostle's full and perfect confession of His divinity, He commissioned him to feed the sheep and lambs of His flock (the Church). Nor is he unmindful, especially, of the precept given to Peter to confirm his brethren in the faith. "Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat. But I have prayed for *thee*, that thy faith fail not; and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren."<sup>1</sup> This last commission contains the promise of Christ which could not fail, that Peter's faith and teaching would never be lost or diminished, would never cease to be the truth which Christ through him was to teach the world, and that Peter's duty was to strengthen the brethren—the apostles and their successors—in the faith, and to make their teachings firm and indubitable. Now, the Church did not die with St. Peter. It was to last to the end of time. St. Peter's powers and prerogatives were official, and not entirely personal; they were not to cease at his death, but manifestly if the Church was to continue in the condition Christ established it, and if truth was to be perpetuated, they were to be transmitted to his successors. As the Church needed a head at its beginning, the same necessity would always exist, and the same teaching authority, and the same governing power, would also be always re-

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<sup>1</sup> Luke xxii., 31, 32.

quired. Leo XIII. speaks, then, with all the weight attached to Scriptural ordinances, with all the assurance given by the consciousness of unbroken and universal tradition, and with the confidence of twenty centuries of historical facts. He speaks as did the Saviour to Peter and the Apostles: "He that heareth you, heareth Me, and he that despiseth you despiseth Me and Him that sent Me." The position which the learned Pontiff takes is no usurpation or false assumption. It is not an egotistical and complaisant confidence in his own wisdom, or mere satisfaction with his possessions. His invitation springs from no self-conceit, and originates in no desire or purpose of extended dominion. Its spirit is not of pride or self-seeking, and its motive is only to lead inquiring minds to the light of truth, and anxious and troubled hearts to the possession of internal peace; to "the truth which shall make all free," and to the "peace which surpasseth all understanding." It comes from his earnest desire, oft manifested, to better man's condition, both temporal and spiritual, and is characterized by all the tenderness and love of a man and priest who loves his fellow-men and knows that he has the power and means of helping them. He has seen how men yearn for religious union and for religious peace; how they are tossed about by varying winds of doctrine; how they are becoming the prey of designing teachers and false prophets; and in the love of his fatherly heart, and in compliance with his trust to teach all men the way heavenward, he would now direct their minds and hearts, as the Master Whom he represents directed, to the channel of grace and truth—Christ's body—the Church; and justly repeats His declaration, "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life." "No man cometh to the Father, save through Me." It is a noble effort, an exalted aim, an earnest and reasonable invitation, and deserves to be widely answered.

The Catholic Church has been made to appear in a false light to those not of her communion. Specious arguments and erroneous statements on the part of enemies have too long kept well-disposed persons from seeing her as she is, and the fear of her so-called tyranny has driven many from studying her position. It is not presumptuous to say that the more she is known and studied and the more deeply we penetrate into her mysteries, and understand her teachings, the more radiantly will her charms shine forth, and the more strongly will numbers be drawn towards her and embrace her faith, saying, with St. Augustine, "Too late have I known thee, too late have I loved thee." That the recent letter of our Holy Father, addressed to the princes and nations of the world, will interest men in this study, and compel ready assent to the truth he advocates, and submission to the divinely-instituted authority found only in the Roman Catholic Church, there can be no doubt.



Some may read the letter and hear the invitation with scorn, some with ridicule; others will put it aside, as they have ever done with similar appeals, and consider it an arrogant assumption and a folly to expect them to enter into communion with Roman corruption; but we are convinced that a ready response will be forthcoming from many quarters, and that acceptance of religious teaching from the Roman Pontiff will eventually conduce to their spiritual happiness. Union with Rome was once the rule; separation from her the exception. Christianity was identified with her, and both nations and particular churches that went from her lapsed into miseries and disorders of various kinds; into uncertainty in faith and corruption or looseness in morality. It could not be otherwise. The Saviour said: "He that is not with Me, is against Me. He that gathereth not with Me, scattereth." One cannot be with Christ unless he be with His true Church. And in His Church He set up in Peter and his successors an authority which should be at once the rule of faith and the bond of union. All in opposition to that divine ordinance, all who separate themselves from it, cannot expect to have part with Christ; they will be against Christ.

Let the call be attentively considered. Let it be well pondered. Fruitful results will necessarily follow. The Church will not be the gainer, but the souls themselves that she saves. The Church is the bearer of glad and good tidings and the creator of peace. May nations accept her and princes love her. May all obey her and the voice of her visible head, which is indeed the voice of Christ, her Founder and her Head Invisible. May the Holy Father's call bring numberless erring sheep to the true fold, and may his desire and effort be more than a hope, may they prove a realization. They who heed the invitation will find that in subjecting themselves to the authority of the Roman Catholic Church and her ecclesiastical head, they are not entering, as some would believe, into a servile and abject condition, unworthy of man endowed with reasoning faculties. The faith which they will receive will rest on grounds which reason itself approves and indeed establishes. There is no blind obedience or unreasonable service required in the Church. Faith given through it is a reasonable faith. Our intellect is ennobled by this faith, which is founded on confidence in Christ and His institutions, on His words and promises contained in very Scripture. Just as man does not make a better use of his liberty than in devoting himself to the worship of God, his Creator and Father, so the Christian cannot employ his faculties in more honorable service than in submitting to the divine Master's visible representative, especially since this representative bears such indubitable credentials for his right to speak in His name.

Finally, the fear of giving up cherished notions or the teachings of childhood must not deter or delay union with the Catholic Church. For, in joining her, really no one will have to abandon the Christian truths he possesses. These will be clarified, perfected, and completed. He will not have a mere glimmer of light or a mere fragment of Christian revelation; but all this will be his in its fulness and perfection. He will never experience any anxiety or doubt or be worried by contrary claims or contradictory teachings; he will rest in contentment, and the angels of peace will hover around him.

JAMES CARD. GIBBONS.

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TO THE RULERS AND NATIONS OF THE WORLD—  
POPE LEO XIII., HEALTH AND  
PEACE IN THE LORD.

THE splendid tokens of public rejoicing which have come to Us from all sides in the whole course of last year, to commemorate Our Episcopal Jubilee, and which were lately crowned by the remarkable devotion of the Spanish nation, have afforded Us special joy, in as much as the unity of the Church and the admirable adhesion of her members to the Sovereign Pontiff, have shone forth in this perfect agreement of concurring sentiments. During those days it seemed as if the Catholic world, forgetful of everything else, had centered its gaze and all its thoughts upon the Vatican. The special missions sent by Kings and Princes, the many pilgrimages, the letters we received so full of affectionate feeling, the sacred services, everything clearly brought out the fact that all Catholics are of one mind and of one heart in their veneration for the Apostolic See. And this was all the more pleasing and agreeable to Us, that it is entirely in conformity with Our intent and with Our endeavors. For indeed well acquainted with our times, and mindful of the duties of Our ministry, We have constantly sought, during the whole course of Our Pontificate and striven as far as it was possible by teaching and action to bind every nation and people more closely to Us, and make manifest everywhere the salutary influence of the See of Rome. Therefore do We most earnestly offer thanks in the first place to the Goodness of God, by Whose help and bounty We have been preserved

to attain Our great age, and then next, to all the Princes and Rulers, to the Bishops and Clergy, and to as many as have co-operated, by such repeated tokens of piety and reverence, to honor Our character and office, while affording Us personally such seasonable consolation.

A great deal however has been wanting to the entire fulness of that consolation. Amidst these very manifestations of public joy and reverence, Our thoughts went out towards the immense multitude of those who were strangers to the gladness that filled all Catholic hearts, some because they lie in absolute ignorance of the Gospel, others because they dissent from the Catholic belief, though they bear the name of Christians.

This thought has been and is a source of deep concern to Us ; for it is impossible to think of such a large portion of mankind, deviating as it were from the right path, as they move away from Us, and not experience a sentiment of innermost grief.

But since We hold upon this earth the place of God Almighty, Who will have all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth, and now that Our advanced age and the bitterness of anxious cares urge Us on towards the end common to every mortal, We feel drawn to follow the example of our Redeemer and Master Jesus Christ, Who when about to return to heaven, implored of God His Father in earnest prayer, that His disciples and followers should be of one mind and of one heart : *"I pray . . . that they all may be one, as thou Father, in me, and I in thee : that they also may be one in us."*<sup>1</sup> And as this Divine prayer and supplication does not include only the souls who then believed in Jesus Christ, but also every one of those who were henceforth to believe in Him, this prayer holds out to Us no indifferent reason for confidently expressing Our hopes, and for making all possible endeavors, in order that the men of every race and clime should be called and moved to embrace the unity of divine Faith.

Pressed on to Our intent by charity that hastens fastest there where the need is greatest, We direct Our first thoughts to those most unfortunate of all nations, who have never received the light of the Gospel, or who after having possessed it, have lost it through neglect or the vicissitudes of time : hence do they ignore God and live in the depths of error. Now as all salvation comes from Jesus Christ *"for there is no other name under heaven given to men whereby we must be saved,"*<sup>2</sup> Our ardent desire, is that the most Holy name of Jesus should rapidly pervade and fill every land. And here indeed is a duty which the Church, faithful to the divine mission entrusted to her, has never neglected. What has been

<sup>1</sup> John xvii., 20-21.

<sup>2</sup> Acts iv., 12.



the object of her labors for more than nineteen centuries? Is there any other work she has undertaken with greater zeal and constancy, than that of bringing the nations of the earth to the truth and principles of Christianity? To-day as ever, by Our authority, the heralds of the Gospel constantly cross the seas to reach the farthest corners of the earth; and We pray God daily that in His goodness, He may deign to increase the number of His ministers who are really worthy of this apostolate, and who are ready to sacrifice their convenience, their health and their very life, if need be, in order to extend the frontiers of the kingdom of Christ.

Ah, but Thou above all, Saviour and Father of mankind, Christ Jesus, hasten and do not delay to bring about what Thou didst once promise to do, that when lifted up from the earth Thou wouldst draw all things to Thyself. Come then at last, and manifest Thyself to the immense multitude of souls, who have not felt as yet the ineffable blessings which Thou hast earned for men with Thy blood: rouse those who are sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death, that enlightened by the rays of Thy wisdom and virtue, in Thee and by Thee "*they may be made perfect in one.*"

As We consider the mystery of this unity, We see before Us all the countries which have long since passed, by the mercy of God, from timeworn error to the wisdom of the Gospel. Nor could We indeed recall anything more pleasing or better calculated to extol the work of Divine Providence, than the memory of the days of yore, when the Faith that had come down from heaven, was looked upon as the common inheritance of one and all; when civilized nations separated by distance, character and habits, in spite of frequent disagreements and warfare on other points, were united by Christian faith in all that concerned religion. The recollection of that time causes Us to regret all the more deeply, that as the ages rolled by, the waves of suspicion and hatred arose, and great and flourishing nations were dragged away, in an evil hour, from the bosom of the Roman Church. In spite of that, however, We trust in the mercy of God's Almighty power, in Him Who alone can fix the hour of His benefits, and Who has power to incline man's will as He pleases, and We turn to those same nations, exhorting and beseeching them with fatherly love, to put an end to their dissensions and return again to unity.

First of all then We cast an affectionate look upon the East, from whence in the beginning came forth the salvation of the world.—Yes, and the yearning desire of Our heart bids Us conceive the hope that the day is not far distant, when the Eastern Churches, so illustrious in their ancient faith and glorious past, will return to the fold they have abandoned. We hope it all the more, that the distance separating them from Us is not so great: nay, with some

few exceptions, We agree so entirely on other heads, that in defence of the Catholic faith we often have recourse to reasons and testimony borrowed from the teaching, the rites and customs of the East. The principal subject of contention is the primacy of the Roman Pontiff. But let them look back to the early years of their existence, let them consider the sentiments entertained by their forefathers and examine what the oldest traditions testify, and it will indeed become evident to them that Christ's divine utterance, "*Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church,*" has undoubtedly been realized in the Roman Pontiffs. Many of these latter in the first ages of the Church, were chosen from the East, and foremost among them, Anacletus, Evaristus, Anicetus, Eleutherius, Zosimus and Agatho; and of these a great number after governing the Church in wisdom and sanctity, consecrated their ministry with the shedding of their blood. The time, the reasons, the promoters of the unfortunate division, are well known. Before the day when man separated what God had joined together, the name of the Apostolic See was held in reverence by all the nations of the Christian world, and the East like the West agreed without hesitation in its obedience to the Pontiff of Rome, as the legitimate successor of St. Peter, and therefore the Vicar of Christ here on earth.

And accordingly, if we refer to the beginning of the dissension, we shall see that Photius himself was careful to send his advocates to Rome, on the matters that concerned him: and Pope Nicolas I. sent his legates to Constantinople from the Eternal City, without the slightest opposition: "*in order to examine the case of Ignatius the Patriarch with all diligence and to bring back to the Apostolic See a full and accurate report:*" so that the history of the whole negotiation is a manifest confirmation of the primacy of the Roman See, with which the dissension then began. Finally in two great Councils, the second of Lyons and that of Florence, Latins and Greeks, as is notorious, easily agreed and all unanimously proclaimed as dogma, the supreme power of the Roman Pontiffs.

We have recalled these things intentionally, for they constitute an invitation to peace and reconciliation, and with all the more reason that, in our own days, it would seem as if there were a more conciliatory spirit towards Catholics on the part of the Eastern Churches, and even some degree of kindly feeling. To mention an instance, those sentiments were lately made manifest when some of our faithful travelled to the East on a holy enterprise, and received so many proofs of courtesy and good-will. Therefore, "*Our mouth is open to you,*" to you all of Greek or other Oriental Rites who are separated from the Catholic Church. We

earnestly desire, that each and every one of you should meditate upon the words, so full of gravity and love, addressed by Bessarion to your forefathers: "*What answer shall we give to God when He comes to ask why we have separated from our brethren: to Him who, to unite us and bring us into one fold, came down from heaven, was incarnate and was crucified? What will our defence be in the eyes of posterity? Oh, my venerable Fathers! we must not suffer this to be; we must not entertain this thought; we must not thus so ill-provide for ourselves and for our brethren.*"

Weigh carefully in your minds and before God the nature of Our request. It is not for any human motive, but impelled by divine charity, and a desire for the salvation of all, that We advise the reconciliation and union with the Church of Rome; and We mean a perfect and complete union, such as could not subsist in any way, if nothing else were brought about but a certain kind of agreement in the tenets of belief and an intercourse of fraternal love. The true union between Christians is that which Jesus Christ, the Author of the Church, instituted and desired, and which consists in a unity of faith and a unity of government. Nor is there any reason for you to fear, on that account, that We or any of Our Successors will ever diminish your rights, the privileges of your patriarchs or the established ritual of any one of your Churches. It has been and always will be the intent and tradition of the Apostolic See to make a large allowance, in all that is right and good, for the primitive traditions and special customs of every nation. On the contrary, if you re-establish union with us, you will see how, by God's bounty, the glory and dignity of your Churches will be remarkably increased. May God, then, in His goodness hear the prayer that you yourselves address to Him: "*Make the schisms of the Churches cease,*" and "*Assemble those who are dispersed, bring back those who err and unite them to Thy Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.*" May you thus return to that one holy faith which has been handed down both to us and to you from time immemorial; which your forefathers preserved untainted, and which was enhanced by the rival splendor of the virtues, the great genius and the sublime learning of Athanasius and St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzum and St. John Chrysostom, the two Saints who bore the name of Cyril, and so many other great men, whose glory belongs as a common inheritance to the East and to the West.

Suffer that We should address you more particularly, nations of the Slavonic race, you whose glorious name and deeds are attested

<sup>1</sup> Παῦσον τὰ σχίσματα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν (in liturgia S. Basilii).

<sup>2</sup> Τοὺς ἐσκοπισμένους ἐπισυνάγαγε, τοὺς πεπλανημένους ἐπανάγαγε, καὶ σὺναφον τῇ ἀγίᾳ σου καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ (*Ibid.*).



by many an ancient record. You know full well how much the Slavs are indebted to the merits of S. Cyril and S. Methodius, to whose memory We Ourselves rendered due honor only a few years ago. Their virtues and their labors were to great numbers of your race the source of civilization and salvation. And hence the admirable interchange, which existed for so long between the Slavonic nations and the Pontiffs of Rome, of favors on the one side and of filial devotion on the other. If in unhappy times many of your forefathers were separated from the faith of Rome, consider now what priceless benefits a return to unity would bring to you. The Church is anxious to welcome you also to her arms, that she may give you manifold aids to salvation, prosperity and grandeur.

With no less affection do We now look upon the nations who, at a more recent date, were separated from the Roman Church by an extraordinary revolution of things and circumstances. Let them forget the various events of times gone by, let them raise their thoughts far above all that is human, and seeking only truth and salvation, reflect within their hearts upon the Church as it was constituted by Christ. If they will but compare that Church with their own communions, and consider what the actual state of religion is in these, they will easily acknowledge that, forgetful of their early history, they have drifted away on many and important points, into the novelty of various errors; nor will they deny that of what may be called the patrimony of truth, which the authors of those innovations carried away with them in their desertion, there now scarcely remains to them any article of belief that is really certain and supported by authority.

Nay more, things have already come to such a pass, that many do not even hesitate to root up the very foundation upon which alone rests all religion, and the hope of men, to wit, the Divine Nature of Jesus Christ, Our Saviour. And again, whereas formerly they used to assert that the Books of the Old and New Testament were written under the inspiration of God, they now deny them that authority: this indeed was an inevitable consequence when they granted to all the right of private interpretation. Hence too, the acceptance of individual conscience as the sole guide and rule of conduct to the exclusion of any other: hence those conflicting opinions and numerous sects, that fall away so often into the doctrines of Naturalism and Rationalism. Therefore is it, that having lost all hope of an agreement in their persuasions, they now proclaim and recommend a union of brotherly love. And rightly too, no doubt, for we should all be united by the bond of mutual charity. Our Lord Jesus Christ enjoined it most emphatically and wished that this love of one another should

be the mark of His disciples. But how can hearts be united in perfect Charity where minds do not agree in Faith? It is on this account that many of those We allude to, men of sound judgment and seekers after truth, have looked to the Catholic Church for the sure way of salvation; for they clearly understood that they could never be united to Jesus Christ as their Head, if they were not members of His Body which is the Church; nor really acquire the true Christian Faith if they rejected the legitimate teaching confided to Peter and his successors. Such men as these have recognized in the Church of Rome the form and image of the true Church which is clearly made manifest by the marks that God her Author placed upon her: and not a few who were possessed with penetrating judgment and a special talent for historical research, have shown forth in their remarkable writings the uninterrupted succession of the Church of Rome from the Apostles, the integrity of her doctrine, and the consistency of her rule and discipline. With the example of such men before you, Our heart appeals to you even more than Our words, to you, our brethren, who for three centuries and more differ from us on Christian Faith; and to you all likewise who in later times for any reason whatsoever have turned away from Us: "*Let us all meet into the unity of faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God.*"<sup>1</sup> Suffer that We should invite you to the unity which has ever existed in the Catholic Church and can never fail; suffer that We should lovingly hold out Our hand to you. The Church as the common Mother of all, has long been calling you back to her, the Catholics of the world await you with brotherly love, that you may render holy worship to God together with us, united in perfect charity by the profession of one Gospel, one Faith and one Hope.

To complete the harmony of this most desired unity, it remains for us to address all those throughout the world, whose salvation has long been the object of our thoughts and watchful cares; We mean Catholics, whom the profession of the Roman faith, while it renders them obedient to the Apostolic See, preserves in union with Jesus Christ. There is no need to exhort them to true and holy unity, since through the divine goodness they already possess it; nevertheless they must be admonished, lest under pressure of the growing perils on all sides around them, through negligence or ignorance they should lose this great blessing of God. For this purpose, let them take their rule of thought and action, as the occasion may require, from those instructions which at other times we have addressed to Catholic peoples either collectively or individually; and above all, let them lay down for themselves as

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<sup>1</sup> Efes. iv., 13.

a supreme law to yield obedience in all things to the teaching and authority of the Church, in no narrow or mistrustful spirit, but with their whole soul and all promptitude of will. On this account let them consider how injurious to Christian unity is that error, which in various forms of opinion has oftentimes obscured, nay even destroyed the true character and idea of the Church. For by the will and ordinance of God its Founder, it is a society perfect in its kind, whose office and mission is to school mankind in the precepts and teachings of the Gospel, and by safeguarding the integrity of morals and the exercise of Christian virtue, to lead men to that happiness which is held out to every one in Heaven. And since it is, as We have said, a perfect society, therefore it is endowed with a living power and efficacy, which is not derived from any external source, but in virtue of the ordinance of God and its own constitution, inherent in its very nature; for the same reason it has an inborn power of making laws, and justice requires that in its exercise it should be dependent on no one; it must likewise have freedom in other matters appertaining to its rights. But this freedom is not of a kind to occasion rivalry or envy, for the Church does not covet power, nor is she urged on by any selfish desire, but this one thing does she wish, this only does she seek, to preserve amongst men the duties which virtue imposes, and by this means and in this way to provide for their everlasting welfare. Therefore is she wont to be yielding and indulgent as a mother; yea, it not unfrequently happens that in making large concessions to the exigencies of states, she refrains from the exercise of her own rights, as the compacts often concluded with civil governments abundantly testify. Nothing is more foreign to her disposition than to encroach on the rights of the civil power; but the civil power in its turn must respect the rights of the Church, and beware of arrogating them in any degree to itself. Now what is the ruling spirit of the times when actual events and circumstances are taken into account? No other than this; it has been the fashion to regard the Church with suspicion, to despise, and hate, and spitefully calumniate her—and more intolerable still, men strive with might and main to bring her under the sway of civil governments. Hence it is that her property has been plundered and her liberty curtailed, hence again that the training of her priesthood has been beset with difficulties; that laws of exceptional rigor have been passed against her clergy, that religious orders, those excellent safeguards of Christianity, have been suppressed and placed under the ban; in a word, the principles and practice of the Regalists have been revived with increased virulence. Such a policy is a violation of the most sacred rights of the Church, and it breeds enormous evils to states, for the very reason that it is in open con-



flict with the purposes of God. When God in His most wise providence placed over human society both temporal and spiritual authority, He intended them to remain distinct indeed, but by no means disconnected and at war with each other. On the contrary; both the will of God and the common weal of human society imperatively require, that the civil power should be in accord with the ecclesiastical in its rule and administration. Hence the state has its own peculiar rights and duties, the Church likewise has hers; but it is necessary that each should be united with the other in the bonds of concord. Thus will it come about that the close mutual relations of Church and state will be freed from the present turmoil, which for manifold reasons is ill-advised and most distressing to all well-disposed persons; furthermore it will be brought to pass, that without confusion or separation of the peculiar interests of each, the people will *render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's*.

There is likewise a great danger threatening unity on the part of that association, which goes by the name of the Society of Freemasons, whose fatal influence for a long time past oppresses Catholic nations in particular. Favored by the agitations of the times, and waxing insolent in its power, and resources, and success, it strains every nerve to consolidate its sway and enlarge its sphere. It has already sallied forth from its hiding places where it hatched its plots into the throng of cities, and, as if to defy the Almighty, has set up its throne in this very City of Rome, the capital of the Catholic World. But what is most disastrous, is that wherever it has set its foot, it penetrates into all ranks and departments of the commonwealth, in the hope of obtaining at last supreme control. This is indeed a great calamity; for its depraved principles and iniquitous designs are well known. Under the pretence of vindicating the rights of man and of reconstituting society, it attacks Christianity; it rejects revealed doctrine, denounces practices of piety, the divine Sacraments, and every sacred thing as superstition; it strives to eliminate the Christian character from marriage, and the family, and the education of the youth, and from every form of instruction whether public or private, and to root out from the minds of men all respect for authority whether human or divine. On its own part it preaches the worship of nature, and maintains that by the principles of nature are truth and probity and justice to be measured and regulated. In this way, as is quite evident, man is being driven to adopt customs and habits of life akin to those of the heathen, only more corrupt in proportion as the incentives to sin are more numerous. Although we have spoken on this subject in the strongest terms before, yet we are led by Our Apostolic watchfulness to urge it once more, and We

repeat Our warning again and again, that in face of such an imminent peril, no precaution, howsoever great, can be looked upon as sufficient. May God in His mercy bring to nought their impious designs ; nevertheless let all Christians know and understand that the shameful yoke of freemasonry must be shaken off once and for all ; and let them be the first to shake it off who are most galled by its oppression—the men of Italy and of France. With what weapons and by what method this may best be done We ourselves have already pointed out : The victory cannot be doubtful to those who trust in that leader whose divine words still remain in all their force, “ *I have overcome the world.*”<sup>1</sup>

Were this twofold danger averted and governments and states restored to the unity of faith, it is wonderful what efficacious remedies for evils and abundant store of benefits would ensue. We will touch upon the principal ones.

The first regards the dignity and office of the Church. She would receive that honor which is her due, and she would go on her way, free from envy and strong in her liberty, as the minister of gospel truth and grace to the notable welfare of states. For as she has been given by God as a teacher and guide to the human race, she can contribute assistance which is peculiarly adapted to direct even the most radical transformations of time, to the common good, to happily solve the most complicated questions, and to promote uprightness and justice, which are the most solid foundations of the Commonwealth.

Moreover there would be a marked increase of union among the nations, a thing most desirable at this time to ward off the horrors of war.

We behold the condition of Europe. For many years past, peace has been rather an appearance than a reality. Possessed with mutual suspicions, almost all the nations are vying with one another in equipping themselves with military armaments. Inexperienced youths are removed from parental direction and control, to be thrown amid the dangers of the soldier's life ; robust young men are taken from agriculture or ennobling studies, or trade, or the arts, to be put under arms. Hence the treasuries of states are exhausted by the enormous expenditure, the national resources are frittered away, and private fortunes impaired ; and this as it were armed peace, which now prevails, cannot last much longer. Can this be the normal condition of human society ? Yet we cannot escape from this situation and obtain true peace except by the aid of Jesus Christ. For to repress ambition and covetousness and envy, the chief instigators of war, nothing is more fitted than

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<sup>1</sup> John xvi., 33.

the Christian virtues, and in particular the virtue of justice; for by its exercise both the law of nations and the faith of treaties may be maintained inviolate, and the bonds of brotherhood continue unbroken, if men are but convinced that "*Justice exalteth a nation.*"<sup>1</sup>

As in its external relations, so in the internal life of the state itself, the Christian virtues will provide a guarantee of the common weal much more sure and stronger far than any which laws or armies can afford. For there is no one who does not see that the dangers to public security and order are daily on the increase, since seditious societies continue to conspire for the overthrow and ruin of states, as the frequency of their atrocious outrages testifies. There are two questions, forsooth, the one called the *Social*, the other the *Political* question, which are discussed with the greatest vehemence. Both of them without doubt are of the last importance; and though praiseworthy efforts have been put forth in studies and measures and experiments for their wise and just solution, yet nothing could contribute more to this purpose, than that the minds of men in general should be imbued with right sentiments of duty from the internal principle of Christian Faith. We treated expressly of the social question in this sense, a short time ago, from the standpoint of principles drawn from the Gospel and natural reason. As regards the political question which aims at reconciling liberty with authority, two things which many confound in theory and separate too widely in practice, most efficient aid may be derived from Christian philosophy. For, when this point has been settled and recognized by common agreement, that whatsoever the form of government the authority is from God, reason at once perceives that in some there is a legitimate right to command, in others, the corresponding duty to obey, and that without prejudice to their dignity, since obedience is rendered to God rather than to man; and God has denounced the most rigorous judgment against those in authority, if they fail to represent Him with uprightness and justice. Then the liberty of the individual can afford ground of suspicion or envy to no one, since without injury to any, his conduct will be guided by truth and rectitude and whatever is allied to public order. Lastly, if it be considered what influence is possessed by the Church, the mother of, and peacemaker between, rulers and peoples, whose mission it is to help them both with her authority and counsel, then it will be most manifest how much it concerns the common weal, that all nations should resolve to unite in the same belief and the same profession of the Christian faith.

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<sup>1</sup> Prov. xiv., 34.



With these thoughts in Our mind and ardent yearnings in Our heart, We see from afar what would be the new order of things that would arise upon the earth, and nothing could be sweeter to Us than the contemplation of the benefits that would flow from it. It can hardly be imagined what immediate and rapid progress would be made all over the earth, in all manner of greatness and prosperity, with the establishment of tranquility and peace: the promotion of studies, the founding and the multiplying on Christian lines, according to Our directions, of associations for the cultivators of the soil, for workmen and tradesmen, through whose agency rapacious usury would be put down, and a large field opened up for useful labors.

And these abundant benefits would not be confined within the limits of civilized nations, but, like an overcharged river, would flow far and wide. It must be remembered, as We observed at the outset, that an immense number of races have been waiting, all through the long ages, to receive the light of truth and civilization. Most certainly the counsels of God, with regard to the eternal salvation of peoples, are far removed above the understanding of man; yet, if miserable superstition still prevails in so many parts of the world, the blame must be attributed in no small measure to religious dissensions. For as far as it is given to human reason to judge from the nature of events, this seems without doubt to be the mission assigned by God to Europe, to go on by degrees carrying Christian civilization to every portion of the earth. The beginnings and first growth of this great work, which sprang from the labors of former centuries, were rapidly receiving large development, when all of a sudden the discord of the sixteenth century broke out. Christendom was torn with quarrels and dissensions, Europe exhausted with contests and wars, and the sacred missions felt the baneful influence of the times. While the causes of dissension still remain, what wonder is it that so large a portion of mankind is held enthralled with barbarous customs and insane rites? Let us, one and all, then, for the sake of the common welfare, labor with equal assiduity to restore the ancient concord. In order to bring about this concord, and spread abroad the benefits of the Christian revelation, the present is the most seasonable time; for never before have the sentiments of human brotherhood penetrated so deeply into the souls of men, and never in any age has man been seen to seek out his fellow-men more eagerly, in order to know them better and to help them. Immense tracts of land and sea are traversed with incredible rapidity, and thus extraordinary advantages are afforded, not only for commerce and scientific investigations, but also for the propagation of the Word of God from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same.

We are well aware of the long labors involved in the restoration of that order of things which We desire; and it may be that there are those who consider that We are far too sanguine and look for things that are rather to be wished for than expected. But We unhesitatingly place all Our hope and confidence in the Saviour of mankind, Jesus Christ, well remembering what great things have been achieved, in times past, by the folly of the Cross and its preaching, to the astonishment and confusion of the "*wisdom of this world.*" We beg of Princes and rulers of States, appealing to their statesmanship and earnest solicitude for the people, to weigh Our counsels in the balance of truth and second them with their authority and favor. If only a portion of the looked-for results should come about, it will prove no inconsiderable boon in the general decadence, when the intolerable evils of the present day bring with them the dread of further evils in days to come.

The last years of the past century left Europe worn out with disasters, and panic-stricken with the turmoils of revolution. And why should not our present century, which is now hastening to its close, by a reversion of circumstances, bequeath to mankind the pledges of concord, with the prospect of the great benefits which are bound up in the the unity of the Christian Faith.

May God, Who "*is rich in mercy and in Whose power are the times and moments,*" grant Our wishes and desires, and in His great goodness hasten the fulfilment of that divine promise of Jesus Christ, "*there will be one fold and one shepherd.*"<sup>1</sup>

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's on the 20th day of June, 1894, in the seventeenth year of Our Pontificate.

POPE LEO XIII.

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<sup>1</sup> John x., 16.

## PSYCHOLOGY, PHYSIOLOGY AND PEDAGOGICS.

THE three words, which we have inscribed as the title of this article, may be taken to express the most important ideas of the day, in that field of thought which is called science. The term, biology, covers perhaps a wider extent of ground than psychology and physiology; it is made to include both. And the science called anthropology is the most comprehensive of all, because it not only embraces all, but comprises also a formal treatment of those materialistic attractions which make biology, physiology, psychology and other partial sciences so very dear to the modern mind. Taking, however, the three departments which we have named, psychology, physiology and pedagogics, we shall find that, by the due interlacing of interests, and the mutual bearings of all parts of modern science, they express in their own way the dominant ideas of materialism. And, as doing so, we propose to consider them, in the light of very urgent and live interests which attach at present to the names.

Let us state first, what has been the traditional meanings of these names, up to our day.

Psychology means the science about the soul, which in Greek is called *psyche*. It is a science eminently philosophical in the high range of metaphysical thought, because it considers the ultimate causes or constituents of one of the beings in nature, and that the noblest being in all nature—man. It treats of man's soul, which is the ultimate constituent principle in him. Now, all such ultimate causes lie beyond the vision, observation and experimentation of natural science, of physics, biology, and all the rest; because ultimate causes are behind and prior to those phenomena which natural science begins with. Phenomena are already constructed as effects produced by their intrinsic causes, before natural science can begin its operations with the microscope, with the electric current, with chemical reagents, or any other of the numberless resources for investigation which are now at hand.

Least of all could the human soul be subjected to such experimental investigation. Its nature exempts it. The nature of every subject proper to physical science excludes it. For its own nature is simple, spiritual, and endowed with all the attributes which appertain to a spiritual substance. It has powers of intellect, memory and will, which know intellectually, are conscious, remember, desire, hope, love, all in the intellectual and spiritual order of existence and activity. Its world and atmosphere are in the



first instance spiritual and abstract essences, and individual beings like itself, remote from matter and immortal. The nature, besides, of every subject proper to physical science endorses the right which the human soul enjoys, of being exempted from the application of the compass, the measure, the balance, in the laboratory and cabinet. For every such subject pertains to this world of composite matter; it is extended, divisible, measurable, ponderable; as is also the body of man, who, taken as a whole, is constituted what he is by the union of soul with a body of material substance. The question of the soul itself, therefore, is altogether philosophical, or, as Aristotle put it, is "metaphysical," that is, "after physics," behind it, beyond it, belonging to the ultimate causes of things.

Physiology is a science quite within the scope and circle of natural sciences, which proceed by the way of observation and experiment. It observes the living body, actuated as it is by the soul. It takes for its proper subject the functions of the living body; it considers the tissues and organs which are constructed by the soul in matter, for the discharge of all the functions characteristic of a vital compound. It inspects the processes by which the body develops and grows to maturity; the structures by which it sees, feels, tastes, hears, etc. To anatomy it abandons the dead structure, as considered apart from the living functions. To a preliminary part of psychology it leaves the consideration of sensitive knowledge, or the nature of that relation which a sensitive organism maintains with the outer world, by what we call sensitive knowledge, sensation, perception, through sight, hearing, taste, sensitive memory, sensitive consciousness, instincts, imagination and fancy. Physiology merely regards the subject as exercising living functions; and this in the vegetable world as well as in the animal. Rising above mere physical science, it avails itself of the data and conclusions supplied by physics. And so it borrows all the principles which go to explain extended and ponderable matter. If it speaks of heat, light, electricity, it does so only as deriving its data from the inferior science of physics or natural philosophy.

Pedagogics or pedagogy is the name given to a scientific elaboration of those principles on which the education of man reposes. The final object of all education belongs to the sphere of pure psychology; it is the cultivation of the spiritual and immortal soul. Catholics understand this well enough. So well, indeed, do they understand it, made known to them by the light of natural good sense and still more revealed to them by the light of divine faith which is in them, that they sit by uninterested and apathetic, while the world is agitated with a fever of "educational thinking," of

"pedagogic inquiry," of investigation, groping for what children of the Church possess by a divine birthright. And, just as in fields of religious inquiry, so in this matter too they are considered to be backward, to be behind the times, indolent and unenterprising; because forsooth they do not go about with a candle looking for some bits of truth, when they have the whole of it to look at in the light of noon-day.

The final object of all education is the culture of the soul. It is to develop the spiritual intellect and train the free will of man. However, as in this life the soul is not reached save through the body, nor the intellect except through sense, it is the whole human person, made up of soul and body, that is the direct subject of education; and most worthy it is of culture. One thing is not the subject of pedagogical culture—the human body taken by itself. That can be trained, made fat, strong and agile, as any mute animal can be, as a dog or a horse; it can be brought up as a splendid animal by athletics, games, calisthenics; but, apart from the main object, these things have nothing more to do with human education than the art of a veterinary surgeon or that of a breeder of pigeons; indeed, they can be much more prejudicial than the innocent arts of curing a horse or a fowl.

Chief and most beautiful among all beings in this visible universe is the human person, a marvel of divine wisdom, with powers which sum up in brief all that is effective, exquisite, and harmonious in the world beside. Animated as his bodily structure is by the spiritual soul, man comprises every perfection which is distributed at large about him, all that is material, vegetative, and sensitive. This is so because, in the right of his intellectual and spiritual life, he is destined to carry all, linked together by a substantial union, into the regions of pure spirituality, where the soul itself properly lives, and in which its destiny is fulfilled. When he reaches his final term in beatitude, he takes with him, by the gift of a bodily resurrection, this same material compendium of the great material universe; he introduces it into the company of purely spiritual substances; and farther still does he carry it, into the family life and glorified existence of the Godhead, where the soul enters on its inheritance by the title of divine grace, itself a participation of the divine nature. It is in the light of this sublime Providence that the whole world, otherwise so fair, looks so vile aside of the consummation of all things accomplished in the person of man, though he seems so small: *O quam sordet mihi terra, cum coelum aspicio!* Now education has for its object the final working out of such a destiny. Therefore, it takes for its immediate subject this microcosm of the human person, soul and body, faculties and senses, all efficient for their purposes, and

clamoring for culture in time, that they may bear their fruit in eternity.

Such is the field covered by the three names at the head of this article. This whole field is now explored by a new school, which gives us with its scientific results quite a number of new conceptions. We can scarcely style their explorations thus conjoined with their novel conceptions by any name which has been consecrated so far to the subjects treated. The school is aware of the fact. Hence its psychology, in particular, it designates as "modern psychology."

Really, to understand the new psychology, there is need of nothing more than physiology and physics. All the psychology that might seem to be about it is certainly no more than that which deals with mere knowledge acquired by sensation and terminating in sensation. But even that ceases to be psychological in its hands. Sensation becomes a question of mere molecular physics, a form of motion, vibration, extension.

## I.

There is some excuse for this. The matter which goes to build up our living body has not put off any of its necessary qualities in doing so. It is extended, ponderable, divisible, movable. There are vibrations in the cells and nerves; there is a mechanical response to external action in the reaction of the great mole or mass of matter which constitutes the body. Aristotle repeatedly teaches that there is no production of anything without movement. But, evidently, it is one thing that a living body should not be found without mechanical movement or other physical qualities; it is quite another thing that itself or its sensitive life should consist only of mechanical motion or the manifestation of physical attributes. As Sylvester Maurus observes:<sup>1</sup> "It is one thing that an animal should not walk without having feet; it is altogether another matter that walking should consist in having feet. So sensations are not produced without motions, impulses, and excitations of the sensitive organs; but sensation itself does not consist in having sensitive organs moved or excited." And the same holds good of all other functions in the live subject of physiology.

These functions are of two classes. One is that which regards the nourishment, growth, and reproduction of the body; in the light of these there is a physiology of plants, which, as compared with the vegetative powers in man, rank under comparative physiology. Another class of functions is that which regards the life

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tilman Pesch, *Philosophia Naturalis*, n. 181.



of relation, whereby a living organism apprehends other objects outside of it, and feels, sees, tastes them. These are the functions of sensitive or animal life, in virtue of which, as St. Thomas remarks, both animals and men avoid what is hurtful and seek what is useful, for the sustenance of the body. To this the power of locomotion is referred, as being a necessary consequence and appanage of the life of sense. In the case of man, who has a sensitive organism pertaining to the animal world, sensation is specially elevated to its highest degree of perfectibility, as being the channel or door through which the facts of the outer sensible world, as well as of the living organism itself, are brought within the cognizance of the spiritual intellect.

It is the same soul, which acting spiritually in its own conscious intellect, will and memory, actuates also the animal body as a principle of life united with matter. "The Lord God formed man of the slime of the earth; and breathed into his face the breath of life; and man became a living soul."<sup>1</sup> The soul elevates the matter of the living body in every order of sensitive knowledge, as far as matter is capable of elevation. The body sees, hears, feels outer things; it has a sensitive consciousness of its own sensations, a sensitive memory, an animal appetite. Highest of all is the wonderfully plastic power of imagination, which deriving its images from without, can frame any combination of images or parts of things imagined, according as the voluntary control of the free spiritual will chooses to arrange. This is that "fancy," the unique and highest effort of sensitive knowledge, which is ordained to serve most adequately the intellectual ideas of the spiritual intellect; and for the proper discharge of which, the remarkable organization of the human brain seems to be designed. Thus St. Thomas remarks, in the same place which we quoted before, "sensitive knowledge is specially ordained in man for the service of intellectual knowledge, either speculative or practical."<sup>2</sup>

In all this department of philosophy we owe to modern physiology a debt or two. We have learnt from it not a little about the subjective conditions of our sensitive organs, and of their functions in every respect. Nor do we fail to acknowledge a debt to merely natural physics, which has added to our stores of information—how, for instance, the activity and the qualities of external things are applied to our organs, in some instances, by means of vibrations, oscillations, communicated first to intervening media, which transfer the same to our organs, and begin to excite the sense. But no amount of experimentation on the things of nature,

<sup>1</sup> Genesis ii., 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Summa Theol.*, 2, 2 æ, q. 167, a. 2: cf. Pesch, *Institutiones Logic.*, ii., i., n. 657.

or on ourselves, need make us mere experimentalists or empiricists, who will accept only that which is tested by physical experiment or is observed by the physiologist's eye. Because there is no sensation of light without vibrations in the ether, nor in a nerve without stimulation, it does not follow that the sensation of light is only vibration in the ether or stimulation in the nerve. We might as well run to the other extreme, where idealists are stranded, and infer that, because there are representations within us which vibrations can certainly never explain, therefore such representations must be gratuitous forms of our own "consciousness," forms fastened on—we had almost said, clapped on—the moment an excitation comes from without; and that what we know is only the manufacture of an internal idealistic factory.

It is this materialistic empiricism on the one side, just like vain idealism on the other, which, adopting the terms consecrated by good sense and philosophy to most definite ideas and data, applies them with utter recklessness to things altogether different, to the world of nature and man, as these errors conceive both to be. Materialism even apologizes in its gentler moods, and says: "Other meanings are attached to mental phenomena, and other relations pointed out, which necessitate a change in the psychological problem." In other words, it coolly uses old terms in altogether new meanings. Terms entirely proper to things strictly spiritual and intellectual are applied most unconscionably to things merely physiological and physical. Phrases like "mind," "consciousness," "memory," "intelligence," "will," dance about in these pages, one might say, in gorgeous confusion; were it not that, after much agony on the part of a reader's logical mind, the grim discovery is made that there is no such thing as spiritual faculties of any kind; that by "mind" is meant sense; by "will" is meant sensitive appetite; nay, that sense and sensitive appetites themselves, and all the other functions of a vital organism are, after all, only physical movements, oscillations in cell substance, excitations in neural fibres, chemical reactions, and the like.

It is in truth a "new" psychology, served up by the school of empirical physiology. It lends itself as a new ally to the whole brood of philosophical systems, which do away with the realities of the objective world. Its own conception is that we produce by physiological functions within us all that we seem to perceive by sense without us. It lands us by the way of gross titillations in the nerves, just where idealists, like Herbart, set us down by the way of transcendental realities or forms.<sup>1</sup> As Père Bonniot remarks,<sup>2</sup> we become dancing marionettes, pulled by the wires of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pesch, *Inst. Log.* ii., i., nn. 602-606, *De Acosmismo*.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Ame et la Physiologie*, liv., ii., § 2; *Determinisme Physiologique*, p. 272.

the objective world, if there is any. The machinery is worked in this wise, according to Dr. Luys: "The divers processes of activity in the brain sum themselves up, in the last analysis, in a circular movement of absorption and of restoration of forces. It is the external world with all its solicitations that enters into us by the way of the senses, under the form of sense excitation; and it is the same external world, which modified, rebuffed by its interior conflict with the living tissues that it has traversed, issues from the organism, and reflects itself outside in the varied manifestations of voluntary locomotion." As far as this grandiose verbiage means anything about the realities of life, it signifies simply that we see, hear, feel, etc., and we go and come accordingly. Aristotle and St. Thomas said this in much clearer terms; and common sense is always saying it in a creditably plain way.

Who does not know what attention is? It means the application of the mind voluntarily and freely, or that of any sense, to one object in preference to others, and with more energy than is required for a cursory glance or perception. It implies an effort proceeding from a desire of the free will to know. Yet the modern psychology explains attention in this characteristic fashion: "Of the sensations, perceptions, thoughts or feelings, that enter at a given moment into the mental content, but one is at the focus of attention; the rest are stationed in the outlying area of consciousness. By what means," it asks, "is this mental fixation brought about? Under what conditions does it veer around from one image to another? The answers, both qualitative and quantitative, that experiment has given to these questions, are among the best contributions to our knowledge of mind." The Abbé Farges gives in so far to the seductions of this materialistic physiology, that he finds the sensitive perception of light, sound, etc., to be only an image in the brain, which image consists of vibrations; and these vibrations, persisting in the cerebral fibres or cells, constitute *memory*. The memory vibrations are silent vibrations. They are a kind of phosphorescence.<sup>1</sup>

## II.

Here, some one interposes. He expounds modern psychology. He first indicates that, in spite of Kant's prediction to the contrary, psychology has become an "exact" science, that is to say, involving mathematical measurements; for physiological research has become exact and mathematical, "quantitative as well as qualitative"; physical research has analyzed light-waves and sound-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dr. Surbled, *Les Explications Physiques de la Mémoire—Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, avril, 1894, p. 365.



waves ; what is more, physics and physiology involve psychological problems, because the experimenter in each has a psychological principle in him, for the action of which allowance must be made in the mechanical accuracy of his observations ; and, again, numerous phenomena of physiology receive their final interpretation from psychology. Therefore psychology has become a mathematically exact science. But this is only a preliminary appetizer for the logical appetite. Let us take up *les pièces de resistance*.

We can enumerate no less than three great proofs which are offered us to establish a conviction in our minds that experimental psychology has grown, has followed methods of its own, and has achieved much. First, there is Weber's law ; secondly, Fechner's measures for psychical phenomena ; thirdly, Wundt's foundation of a psychological laboratory. Besides these great proofs, there are several subordinate ones, which we add in order : fourthly, the general harmony of the new psychology with evolution ; fifthly, the need of emancipation on the part of psychology, or its right to "autonomy" ; sixthly, the perfectly obvious fact, that the old Peripatetic or Scholastic philosophy about the soul passed out of existence somewhere in the sixteenth century. This scholastic philosophy of St. Thomas has just one little achievement to its credit, inasmuch as an obscure votary of it, a scholastic of the name of Buridan, in the fourteenth century, got an inkling of present methods, and enunciated principles which are now receiving experimental confirmation. Buridan may be thankful that, if no other merits of his won him renown, a mental aberration now attributed to him wins him some of that posthumous glory which heretics receive in the theology of the Church.

These six heads of argument are so perspicuous, that it will take us scarcely any time to formulate them, and pay them our due respects.

*First Proof*.—E. H. Weber observed, that we do not apprehend different sensations as separate, but that we fuse them into one, unless a certain space of time intervenes. Thus, two sounds or two lights seem to be one, if not sufficiently apart. Again, he observed that the two sounds, two lights, two weights, may be different in their intensity or measure, but they are not perceived by the sense as different, on the basis of their absolute quantity, but only as they compare with one another. We are told, that "E. H. Weber was the *first* to observe these facts of perception," from which he deduced a remarkable conclusion, "that, in comparing external impressions, we are able to determine their relations but not their absolute value." This acute inference means, that when we compare, we compare ; that we feel one impression, say of heat, to be stronger than another ; but we do not forthwith know

that the hotter object is precisely  $95^{\circ}$  F., and the cooler object just  $70^{\circ}$  F. This discovery was made in 1834.

The estimate we form of this profound conclusion is: What has it to do with psychology, except to call attention to a circumstance of sense which was perfectly well known?

*Second Proof.*—A great man, a physicist, philosopher and mathematician, came on the stage some thirteen years later, and “gathered together many loose-lying data, gave them their true significance, and made them the starting-point of a more complete and more systematic investigation. This man was Gustav Theodor Fechner.” He spent forty years of a most valuable life in psychological research; and he was finally enabled to formulate Weber’s law with accuracy, yea, and mathematically. For those readers who have a turn that way, we record Weber’s law, thus reformed: “Equal absolute increments of sensation correspond to equal relative increments of the stimulus; or, as it has been expressed, the stimulus-strength must increase in a geometrical ratio, if the strength of the sensation is to increase in an arithmetical ratio.” From the lowest “threshold of discrimination,” where sensation is first excited, and then mounts proportionately with the stimulus outside, Fechner constructs a scale upwards, the stimulation advancing geometrically, the strength of sensation arithmetically. To establish this law, all kinds of measurements were necessary; and thus were introduced the “psycho-physical methods.”

To begin to understand what all these methods mean, we have to take our stand in the formalism of Kant, or in the idealistic realism of Herbart, or in some go-between system, compounded of Kant’s transcendentalism and Hegel’s logico-metaphysics, such as Wundt has devised. We must be prepared to hear of mental “structure,” like Herbart’s or Beneke’s, one of whom makes what he calls the soul construct its mental “representations” into the faculties of sense, appetites, volition, while the other puts no soul at all in man, but makes him acquire it, in the shape of many intellects, reasons, wills; for the soul is produced by education and the artificial suggestion of fitting irritations, particularly in school. If one will take his stand with proper docility in the midst of this world of German *Vorstellungen*, and will exercise, moreover, a portentous amount of patience, he may begin to understand what the new psychology is talking about, when, bringing physiology and physics into the field, with its “psycho-physical methods,” it expounds the “analysis of sense-perceptions,” “the study of attention,” “the succession of mental states,” “the time-sense,” “the measure of feelings and emotions”; when it tries to measure hunger, thirst and fatigue; or, becoming sublimely mathematical, endorses Herbart’s conception, that “states of consciousness have

two dimensions." Why? Because they are long and they are broad. They are broad, since they vary in intensity; they are long, because "*they follow one another in time!*"

Our estimate of Fechner's great psychological discovery is suggested by the circumstances of its development. It is only the law of Weber, supposed to have fermented into clarity, under a forty years' process of physical and physiological treatment. However, clear or not, 'tis a pity, but it is not true. The ground on which it trenches might as well be quicksands, for the very reason that true psychology has something to say and to do there—psychology, the precise subject which it desires to reduce to measurement. The soul it is that animates sense; and, as Kant divined, it will not tolerate the millimeter or centimeter scale, as if it were an electrical current or a candle light. A number of what are quietly called disturbing elements are found to intrude and to upset the psychometrical calculations. Hence new laws are being invoked to bolster up Weber's; there is the law of the degradation of sensation and the law of tension. And, if these people go on bravely, they will soon have as many laws to invoke as Darwin invented to sew together the descent of species. But we need not dwell on the matter. The exposition which we are considering tells us expressly that Weber's law is found to possess only an approximate value; that there are "deviations from the law to be explained in each sense-organ by psychological conditions"; that there is an unfortunate power of self-adaptation in the senses, and there are after-images, and sensations subjective in their origin. Fechner himself protested frequently that further investigation was needed "to elucidate *fully* the problems in hand"; and, in fact, "it is generally thought that he overrated the importance of Weber's researches, and imputed to Weber's law a value which subsequent tests do not confirm," etc. But, these drawbacks notwithstanding, let it be noted well, that "whatever may be the verdict of posterity upon the contents of Fechner's 'Psychophysik,' its *suggestiveness* can never be called in question!" We hasten to disclaim all intention of impugning its suggestiveness. We voluntarily proclaim that it is suggestive of materialism; it is rank with it; it reeks with it.

*Third Proof.*—William Wundt entered the philosophical arena, and in 1874 he gratified the world by publishing his sketch of "Physiological Psychology." He undertook to treat psychology expressly on physiological data, and explain the spiritual soul by the nerves. His system is that of physiological determinism; all mental operations take place mechanically the moment certain organic conditions are placed. Accordingly, he sets about experimenting on the neural substance, the nerves, the organs; and, in



the ever-memorable year 1879, he founds a laboratory at Leipzig. Eloquence fails his admirers in their endeavor to express all that they owe him for the psychological laboratory. Mr. G. Stanley Hall, who was one of the earliest members of the Leipzig institute for examining soul in a laboratory, came over and established one at the Johns Hopkins University, in the year of grace, 1888. Thence the laboratory idea has spread to fourteen other institutions in this country, all of which are engaged in the work of "psychometry," measuring the soul. Mr. Hall, now president of Clark University, edits the "American Journal of Psychology," which is in its sixth volume. There is also a "Psychological Review," which began in this propitious year 1894. There is an American Psychological Association; and there is an International Association. And so the argument proceeds. "Experiment has succeeded to mere introspection, and psychology is as much at home in the laboratory as it was in the library."

To this argument, overwhelming for its length, if not for its cogency, we have really nothing special to say. We stand in reverential awe of authority. And, if these authorities mean by their psychometry to measure physical motion or vibrations in the nerves, we wish them well. But, if they or any one else shall pretend to measure physiological functions, as though sensation consisted of motions running up to the brain and down again, we beg to submit that the notion is a philosophical absurdity. And, if they really mean to subject psychological activity to laboratory investigations, as though the soul could in any way be measured or weighed, we do not scruple to call the whole enterprise a theological impiety. We candidly believe, however, that here is precisely the reason why psychometry has such vogue.

*Fourth Proof.*—The new psychology is in harmony with the general theory of evolution—that is to say, it falls into line with biology as handled by the school of Darwin. We are told that "in a wide and philosophical sense biological research for a century past has been guided by principles which could not but modify the study of mind. Underlying every theory of evolution is the idea of a continuous development, resulting in gradual differentiation. To trace this process back to its earliest stages, a comparison of structure and function all along the series of organisms was required. Hence the genetic method (*i.e.*, Haeckel's biogenesis) and, as essential to it, the comparative method." Mr. Herbert Spencer's work on the "Principles of Psychology" is cited as evidence that the scheme of biogenesis, showing the evolution of mind out of a brute's sense, and that the comparison of brutes with men, "can be applied to the investigation of mental phenomena."

This is all well said. It simply means that a man must be an evolutionist in biology to endorse modern psychology. We are of that opinion. In fact, a remark is expressly thrown out, as if it were a matter of perfect indifference, "whether we hold with one school that there is a difference of kind between the lowest and highest mental functions (*i.e.*, between sense and intellect) or with another school that there is merely a difference of degree in complexity" (intellect being only a more complex sense). A man has to forswear his belief in a truth of Christian faith, and must be willing to admit that his soul is no more spiritual than his eye, if he wishes to have anything to do with the "new psychology." He must commit a formal dogmatic error in his Christian faith. As to the crass materialism and gross philosophy which postulates this, we have discussed both in the pages of this REVIEW, when treating of Dr. G. Romanes' "Mental Evolution of Man."<sup>1</sup>

*Fifth Proof.*—The new psychology advances steadily towards autonomy, though it by no means discards as a whole the acquisitions of the past. That steady differentiation, which has given to the various empirical branches of science a certain independence, has affected philosophy as well. Logic, psychology and ethics tend more and more towards autonomy or emancipation.

That is true. But the new psychology was never otherwise than emancipated. It has never regarded either the principles of other sciences or those of Christian faith. It is emancipated from logic, from ethics, from biology, from anthropology and from everything else, except a sense of its own power of nebulous grandiloquence. There was no need of advancing this as an argument for its correctness.

*Sixth Proof.*—The Aristotelian, Scholastic and Thomistic systems of philosophy are long effete; therefore, this may take their place.

We deny the antecedent. Till better reasons are given, we deny the consequence. And, in all cases, we deny the sequence between antecedent and consequence.

We do not know whether we should reckon as a proof the usual advertising qualifications which accompany all these *jeux d'esprit* of the modern scientific mind—these excursions of what Dr. Surbled styles "a vagabond imagination." Like mercantile cards, which pronounce the article advertised to be of quality unrivalled, the best in the market, and so forth, all these systems flutter their own eulogies in the breeze and call themselves "stimulating," "inspiring," "suggestive in the last degree;" they declare

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<sup>1</sup> See AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1893, vol. xviii, pp. 19-41, "A Baby's Footprint and Other Vestiges."

that they furnish "the best contributions to our knowledge," that the "discoveries they have made are as important as they were hitherto unsuspected," etc.

We ought to leave modern psychology some shreds to cover itself with. So we will leave it these.

### III.

What becomes of pedagogics, or the science of education, in a philosophical system which knows no ideas, no intellect, no spiritual emotion of a higher will, not even sense, which admits only sound-waves or light-waves as coming from without and playing on nerves, which understands nothing but the stimulation of ganglia, chiefly that which is called the brain, and considers the irritations of tissue from some undefined activities without to be the whole contribution of knowledge to what it denominates "consciousness" within? What becomes of the science of education in such a system?

Ah, we are assured, with an air of perfect confidence, that a new and practical aspect appears in this psychology when it is applied in the class-room. "In whatever fashion the teacher performs his task, he is, consciously or unconsciously, applying psychological notions. Is there any reason why these should be wrong rather than right, vague and tentative, when they might be precise and methodical?" To be sure, it is added confidentially that "modern psychology has not, as yet, rendered to pedagogics the full share of usefulness which the relations of the two sciences would lead us to expect."

We are not at all of this opinion. We consider it has already gone a great way and very much too far, in rendering to pedagogics what is pleasantly styled "its share of usefulness." And, therefore, desiring with our whole soul to eschew all possibility of resemblance to this school of psychologists, who never define their meaning, who never deliver themselves of an important utterance except when wrapped up in a cloud of verbiage, who never make themselves understood—perhaps for a very obvious reason—we beg to state clearly, first, what degree of utility attaches to this psychology from the teacher's point of view; secondly, what this psychology looks like when it gets into the teacher's mouth—for it can never get into his brain; and, thirdly, what are some of the practical fruits of it as applied in the United States.

First, as to its utility, we will express our mind in the terms of Mr. W. T. Harris, the present Commissioner of Education. "I do not mean," he says, "to disparage or discourage physiological psychology; for it is certainly the best part of physiology, and



will bring with it stores of important knowledge useful in hygiene and the pathology of education."<sup>1</sup>

*Hygiene and Pathology*—the health of children and their diseases! This is the full share of usefulness which the new psychology may lend to education, or, as Mr. Harris politely puts it, "will" lend to pedagogics. We hope it will.

But is it not useful for a teacher to study, that he may learn what kind of being a child is, whether it comes from the sky or from the nether earth, whether it is fish, flesh or fowl, and by what imaginable process it may get an idea into its head? Let Mr. Harris answer for us.<sup>2</sup> He is a devoted student of German philosophy himself, being of the school of Hegel.

He premises that educational psychology is studied in order to find the grounds of prevailing educational theories. Three classes of works on psychology are before the public. The first class contains the works written from the so-called standpoint of common sense. It is best represented by Victor Cousin, who propounded this "common-sense" doctrine as against the materialism of Locke. The second class comprises works written by the physiologists and physiological psychologists whom we are considering at present. The third class embraces works on rational psychology from the school of Aristotle or of Kant.

He delivers his opinion on the second class, that of the physiological psychologists. He says, their treatises include two sub-classes: "First, those which make the senses the source of all our knowledge, and, secondly, those that seek in the study of the brain and nervous system the explanation of the phenomena of mind. Both of these sub-classes agree in making mental action something organic—a function of the physical organism—instead of placing it in a soul transcending the physical body and controlling the same. The materialistic theory, in other words, seeks to explain the mind through the functions of matter, instead of explaining the organization of the body and all life-processes as having their origin in the self-activity of souls. Locke and his widespread school of psychology, together with the physiological psychologists from Gall and Spurzheim to Broca and the school of Wundt and Ferrier, belong to this second class. Although their writings contain many hints for pedagogics as regards hygiene and pathology, the entire drift of their thought is negative to the aggregate of ethical and religious convictions which the age holds in its 'common sense.'" Then Mr. Harris explains that this "common sense" considers man as made up of "an immortal soul, transcendent of matter and charged with the ethical mandate to subdue the body

<sup>1</sup> *Educational Review*, Jan. 1891, vol. i., p. 13; *Investigation in Psychology*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

and use it only as an instrument for transcendent purpose, namely, for the knowing and willing of what is divine"; and that "all our laws, manners and customs, our literature and our art, as well as our institutions, are based on this spiritual presupposition." Whereupon he proceeds to argue with respect to pedagogics: "Now, since education is simply the means of initiating youth into the forms and convictions of our civilization, we can see how negative is the attitude of all forms of materialism. Its study by the teacher, unless he is able to escape its implications, will be injurious. The only cure is to hold firmly to the dogmatic basis (of common sense), or to move forward to the psychology founded on philosophical insight. Without this resort to the first or third basis, agnosticism is the only result of studying physiological psychology or materialism."

Mr. Harris is not a Catholic, either in religion or in philosophy; hence the strangeness of some of his phrases. Yet he refers implicitly to the "dogmatic basis" of the catechism, when he speaks of the "forms and convictions of our (Christian) civilization"; and he alludes to the Catholic philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, when he speaks of the "third basis," that of the rational psychology derived from Aristotle. Were Catholics to indulge in such references and allusions, when treating of modern psychology, they would simply be dubbed obscurantists, who neglect research, whose original sin it is never to be foremost in new movements, who take the catechism and the name of St. Thomas Aquinas as a plea for indolence. They would be solemnly warned that they are only imperilling Catholic "theories" of spiritualism in philosophy, by not building a psychological laboratory and working diligently in it; that better men, who are up to the spirit of the age, men like Mgr. Mercier, Gutberlet and Farges, take quite another view, find out a way to bring this gross materialism into harmony with *their* spiritualistic philosophy of the soul.—We wonder what Mgr. Mercier would think if he found his name coupled in the same context with those mighty names of great renown on the "roll of honor," Muller and Munsterberg, James, Kulpe and Ladd?—Catholics would be told that, now or never, they must begin to know the mind, in order to train the child's mind, which they never knew up to this; for in the laboratory not only "the so-called inferior powers are subjected to experimental research," but "feelings too, in the stricter sense of the word, associations, logical combinations, acts of memory, attention and will, all have their share in our mental 'structure,' all must be accounted for (*i.e.*, experimentally) before psychology can venture on its final generalization," before it can say it knows anything about mind in general, or that of a child in particular.

Secondly, we propose to show what this new psychology looks like, or sounds like, when it gets into a teacher's mouth, and issues from pedagogic lips. And, in order to preserve that due serenity of mind which becomes the inspector of a school, we shall listen to the exposition of a lady. The duty of decorous courtesy will put less of a strain on our moral endurance, when we gather wisdom from the lips of one who surely must love the dear children she writes of, as well as we, and may know them perhaps better :

And what delight can equal those  
That stir the spirit's inner deeps,  
When one that loves, but knows not, reaps  
A truth from one that loves and knows !

Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi has written in the *Educational Review* on "Applications of Psychology in Education."<sup>1</sup> One of the editors of the same review thinks so highly of the wisdom with which she has handled the subject, that, after mentioning her with honor in an article on "The Literature of Education,"<sup>2</sup> he takes flight incontinently in a kind of rhapsody. He says: "Most of the older works on the subject (of educational psychology and the 'psychological spirit') are ruled out from the literature of education because they are written, not to aid a psychological naturalist (!), but to support some preconceived notion in theology or metaphysics. Moreover, the modern discoveries in physiological psychology are of such tremendous importance, that it is safe to say that the greater part of the psychology written more than thirty-five years ago is now practically worthless from the teacher's point of view." Thus we see that the lady is quite an authority of "tremendous importance"; and withal she imposes an agreeable constraint of courtesy upon the rebellious impulses of our nature.

Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi is a psychological "naturalist" herself, of the materialistic school. Still she is somewhat eclectic, and so she borrows an idea or two from Herbart's idealistic school. For she speaks of "adjusting internal ideas or those existing in the mind to external ideas, or those existing in the social mind, or imposed by the constitution of things." She says: "Each mind selects, creates, the world in which it is to live. And, conversely, all the events which have transpired in the history of the world are but the outward realization of ideas which have been associated with brains like these. Despotisms, wars, revolutions, pyramids, crusades, inquisitions, cathedrals, dynasties, religions, sciences—all are only projected thoughts. Of what fearful importance is it

<sup>1</sup> *Educational Review*, June, 1891, vol. ii., p. 1, *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Maxwell, November, 1891, vol. ii., p. 331.



then to know what thoughts shall spring up in the growing brain, and, if possible, how to modify their nature and their sequence?" —Truly, this is fearful!

She then proposes a number of profound questions, as to how four little pieces of information might on the same day be presented to the child's mind; one point is about a wooden cube in geometry, a second is about the lie of a shore in geography, the third is about a date in history, and the fourth about the subjunctive mood in grammar. There is the knot of the difficulty; and she observes: "The answer to these questions implies some theory of the nature of the mind, and some doctrine of the generation of ideas." Here then we see the open door by which psychology got into the classroom. It never occurred to any one before that children might possibly get into their heads four little pieces of information, on geometry, geography, history and grammar, all on the same day. That was because people had no theory of the nature of the mind, nor any doctrine of the generation of ideas. She proceeds forthwith: "Is the mind a product of the brain, and can we excite ideas in the mind by direct action on the brain? Or is the brain the organ of the mind, and can we influence the processes in the brain by means of ideas?" She slips over a third question: Whether perhaps the mind, to use the phraseology of Mr. Harris, is the faculty of a self-activity called the immortal soul, which merely uses the sensitive faculties distributed through the body and connected with the brain, to obtain its ideas and use them in perfect freedom? This last question is altogether beyond her ken, and that animal, called a child, is simply a kind of piano, which discourses its mental music according as you set the wires a-vibrating by proper impacts on the outer keys.

Now, following Prof. James, Hume, Spencer, and others of the same category, she posits the fundamental question of education: "One way of stating the fundamental problem of education is the following; Education aims at enlarging the periphery of consciousness in proportion to the central nucleus; it aims at making disinterested ideas predominate over central egotisms. The peripheric rim of consciousness is enlarged by multiplying the number of thoughts in it, by increasing their recurrences, by suffusing them with feeling, and by quickening them with volition."

Dr. Mary Putman Jacobi favors us with illustrations of what she means; and she makes everything so clear. We feel as happy as in a kindergarten with so many funny pictures unrolling before our eyes. The first pictorial illustration is that of a series of wavy lines, whereof the lower part, more darkly shaded than the upper, "may be taken," she says, "for the physical activities; the upper, lighter part, for the psychic or mental activities." They are all

the same lines, however; matter is just a little thicker and fatter than spirit. A second picture represents with graphic precision Hume's wonderful definition of mind, that "it is the sum of its thoughts." Here the lady shows us "a succession of waves endlessly following each other in a stream of thought, whose sum taken together makes up the totality of consciousness"—of course, there is no mind there to be conscious, nor any intellect to do the thinking. Two other pictures go to explain Prof. James, longitudinally and in section. They exhibit a cylinder of "instincts," which run on as isolated lines in cylindrical form, without resting on one another or anything else. Another diagram represents the truly metaphysical idea of our dear friend Herbert Spencer, that "the mind is a circumscribed aggregate of activities; and the cohesion of these activities, one with another, compels the postulate of something of which they are the activities." Now, if we were less on intimate terms with Mr. Herbert Spencer, we might suppose that he was actually postulating here something like an underlying soul. But we know him too well to do him such an injustice. And so does Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi. She presents the illustrative pictorial diagram in the shape of what looks very much like the contents of a dust-pan thrown recklessly into the air. That is the mind.

Then comes a storage battery and a generating battery of galvanic cells. She considers this diagram quite "useful for educational thinking." It is intended to illustrate a definition given by Prof. James, to wit: "The mind is the medium upon which the manifold processes in the brain combine their effects"; that is to say, the brain is the generating battery and the mind the storage battery. And thus, the lady gravely observes, "the second fundamental aim of education, how to secure an abundant generation of force," and how "to unify it in the brain of the child," is brought right home—you have only to set the batteries agoing. These are all "facts"; for she says, "Upon the basis of the *facts* above mentioned, the following proposition may be constructed: When the brain processes involved in visual perceptions—as of a wooden cube—have been frequently repeated; when they have been associated with brain processes involved in tactual perceptions of the same cube; when these perceptions and processes excited by the cube have co-existed with perceptions and processes excited by other objects, and revived by memory in consciousness for comparison, then a state of consciousness is aroused which may be called a perception. This is a single pulse of thought, but it embraces, as objects, the multiple details of previous states. They may be said to be unified in it." Our attentive readers will please not fail to remember that this is the "Application of Psychology in Educa-

tion." And perhaps they will begin to see why this new psychology is so necessary to modern teaching; nor, may be, will they omit to discern one reason out of many, why modern teaching is just what it is. Other reasons we took pleasure in explaining more at our ease in a former article of this REVIEW.<sup>1</sup>

The lady says pathetically: "I have no diagram to illustrate the definition of Volkmann (Fechner's friend), namely, 'that ideas are successive states of an underlying substance.'" Poor philosophical lady! Her arms are gone, when she cannot draw a picture; and perhaps her auditory will slip away, if she has not pictures to show them. Unless her name really belies her origin and theirs, we will stake something on affirming that they are all true descendants of those modern Anglo-Saxons, who, as Mr. Grant Allen and Dr. Romanes agree in testifying, cannot by any possibility catch an abstract idea or a philosophical thought, unless they have first applied the compass to it, handled it, turned it round about, looked at it with both eyes, sniffed at it, tasted it, and perhaps chewed it; and then somehow they get the essence of it up into the regions of the brain.

But, in all justice be it remarked, we are gratified with a touch of common sense, which, in a moment of inadvertence, this lady draws from her own native fund; forgetting for the nonce the modern psychology wherein men professionally go mad, and falling back on her native intuitions. She has just strained her womanly common sense into some insane chatter, which she must be copying from one of the psychologists, about "propositions or ideas being combined by a flow of electricity from a body of high potential into a body of low potential"; and about "differentiation passing into equilibrium and, during the transition, evolving force"—all of which she illustrates with a picturesque wealth of illustration, showing water running down a hill, high pressure tubes and low pressure tubes, a manometer with compressed air—she has just executed this modern psychological evolution when, as by a natural rebound, she falls back on some sensible remarks of her own.

She rebukes teachers for "a much prevailing custom. Habitually," she says, "a dozen fragments of knowledge are presented to the child in as many text-books, and are liable to remain in his mind as isolated, fragmentary, and lifeless as the scattered bones in the valley of Jehosaphat. How often is a child expected to study separately reading, writing, spelling, composition, definitions, elocution, synonyms, rhetoric, etymology, Latin, French, and English grammar, mythology, history, and geography! The essen-

<sup>1</sup> AMER. CATH. QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1894, pp. 297-319, "Scientific Education, Exact and Inexact."



tials of these subjects—indeed, for many of them, all that the child needs to know—might be obtained from the penetrating study of a page of Livy or of Cornelius Nepos. In such a study these different subjects would fall into place as the naturally related parts of a complex whole, the whole being the narrative given by the Latin author.” Here the lady appends a foot-note: “While these pages are passing through the press, I am informed that the suggestion in the text is very similar to a fundamental principle of the Herbartian school of pedagogics. Never having had an opportunity to study this system, the fact that the same idea has occurred to me independently shows how naturally it arises from the unbiassed consideration of things.” What an oversight on the part of the editors not to inform the candid, though somewhat pedantic, lady, that the same is a fundamental idea in the *Ratio Studiorum* of the Jesuits; and, long before them, it was a fundamental idea of all education. It is the basis of classical education. If modern psychology were in the hands of sensible women, it might soon rediscover the old psychology.

In the third and last place, we promised to give some positive results of the application of this laboratory psychology in the United States. But let us pause a moment.

#### IV.

Really, has the child never been known up to this? And teachers themselves, have they never been children in all the cycle of secular revolutions even until now? “In certain recent pedagogical works I observe,” says Père Burnichon,<sup>1</sup> “a phraseology to which we have not been accustomed, a vocabulary pretentious in the extreme; there is much talk about the psychology of childhood, where our ancestors wrote only: study of its qualities and defects. Or, again, I read ‘solidarity’ in place of ‘charity.’ Quite lately I perused in the ‘Revue Bleue’ a very profound study, in which, with great parade of scientific language, the writer concluded, after many a long and laborious winding, that education ought to have for its object the development of ‘altruistic sentiments.’ They tell us that all that modern science has done for rheum in the brain is to call it ‘coryza.’ I fear it has been no happier in its pedagogical research.” Again, the same excellent writer remarks on a work of this kind by a M. Maillet:<sup>2</sup> “M. Maillet writes in all kinds of letters: ‘The psychology of childhood is a science altogether new. We can only be astonished at

<sup>1</sup> *Études*, octobre, 1893, t. 60, p. 179, *L'Éducation dans l'Université*, Lettre à M. Henri Marion, Professeur de la Science de l'Éducation à la Sorbonne.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1891, t. 52, p. 329, *Éléments de Psychologie de l'Homme et de l'Enfant*, par M. F. Maillet.

the fact. . . . People knew not, they had no idea of the baby,' *On ne connaissait pas, on ne soupçonnait pas le 'baby.'*" The writer in the "Études" confesses that St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, St. Anselm and Gerson, and all the other educational writers down to Bossuet, Fénelon, and Blessed J. B. de la Salle, as well as the great religious bodies devoted to education, and so successful in it, did not make much of scientific parade in the matter, seeing 'that all the sublimity of metaphysics consists sometimes in saying what every one knows, but in words which no one understands.'<sup>1</sup> In fact, "Christian teachers cannot help wondering at the expenditure of so much genius and of so many methods for the discovery of what good sense alone had made known to themselves. For, after all, 'the principles of education pertain to the province of good sense—to that good sense which is old, not to science, which is young.'"<sup>2</sup>

Now let us see some results as exhibited in the United States. We cannot do better than take for this purpose the splendid report which no less a person than G. Stanley Hall himself, now President of Clark University in Massachusetts, has contributed to a late number of the *Forum* under the very precise title: "Child-Study, the Basis of Exact Education."<sup>3</sup>

He begins by telling us that this republic shows some signs of making up its arrears by advancing several branches of the great science of man; that such a condition of things "is a fact well befitting a republic, new and without tradition, which most needs to take a fresh, free look at every aspect of human nature, which alone is true (the look is), and to which (look) school, as well as church, state, and family, must conform to be good, true, and stable." This is a great perspective, albeit a little ominous-looking for the Catholic and Christian Church. He notes that work has been going on in various lines; but all investigators, doctors, anthropologists, psychologists, parents, and teachers should now co-operate. First, there have been studies on the human embryo, such as Preyer and others have done. Secondly, there have been studies of infancy up to the age of three or four years. "Here belongs the work of Preyer, Perez, Compayré, Tracy, Shinn, and many earlier observers. For this work the term Psychogenesis (evolution of the soul) is often used on the often-denied assumption that the fundamental elements of the soul are here being developed." Dr. Stanley Hall himself does not deny this assumption. Thirdly, there have been studies on the early years of school life, especially the first year, for which Mr. Chrisman has suggested

<sup>1</sup> P. Girard, *Rapport sur l'Institut de M. Pestalozzi*, 1810, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> P. Girard, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Forum*, December, 1893, pp. 429, *seq.*

the term Paidology. "Lastly, come the studies of youth and adolescent years, beginning at the age of thirteen or fourteen and lasting perhaps ten years to full maturity or nubility. Here the term Ephebics might do duty till a better one appears."

We will just jot down some of the representative methods and some of the characteristic results.

In the first years of school life, special studies are generally averages of tests on large numbers of children. "The method is simple; if children are to be measured or questioned, they are taken two or three at a time into the dressing-room of the school, where the calipers are applied for the diameter of head and body, the tape for lengths and circumference, scales for weighing, dynamometers for testing strength, and many more especial devices; teeth, eyes, lungs, nose, throat, hearing, accuracy and rapidity of movement, etc., are tested with every precaution for uniformity and for the avoidance of error." "The value of Galton's method of percentile grades, of equations estimating the thickness of shoes and clothing, the interpretation of unexpected results, the value of exceptions, involve technical expertness." The kind reader will please not for a moment forget that we are following the methods of the new *psychology*—they are not the methods of a mere recruiting sergeant or of a veterinary surgeon.

There is no kind of data which is spurned, "without however offending the child's delicacy of consciousness." The excellent president, founder of psychological laboratories in the United States, tells us that "the collection of such data has had excellent effect upon teachers. They tend to focus effort upon individual children rather than upon 'the pedagogic phantom called the Child.' Like all such studies made by teachers or parents, the best result is for them (not for the child); and Mr. Russell adopts the statement that practice of child-study is directly for the sake of the teacher, indirectly for the sake of the child, and incidentally for the sake of science." Poor child of the nineteenth century! What will the child of the twentieth century be born to?

The president passes forthwith to results: "We will begin with measurements"—24,500 Boston pupils weighed and measured; 10,000 Milwaukee children; 30,000 St. Louis children. Studies on motor ability; medical studies on the diseases incident to growing youth. Here the writer breaks off into some pious reflections: "The juvenile world now goes to school and has its brain titillated and tattooed, and we have entirely forgotten that men have been not only good citizens but great, who were in idyllic ignorance of even the belauded invention of Cadmus. Now, if this tremendous school engine, in which everybody believes now with a catholic consensus of belief, perhaps never be-



fore attained, is in the least degree tending to deteriorate mankind physically, it is bad. Knowledge bought at the expense of health, which is wholeness or holiness itself in the higher aspect (!), is not worth what it costs. Health conditions all the highest joys of life, means full maturity, national prosperity. May we not reverently ask, What shall it profit a child if he gain the whole world of knowledge and lose his health? or, what shall he give in exchange for his health?"—Here we get a peep at the theoretical holiness and practical profanity of psychological infidelity.

Then come studies on the contents of children's minds, on their theological and religious life, and he closes with prospecting "a new field and method, which might be called the higher anthropology."

Need more be said about this modern psychology as applied in the school-room, in connection with which it is said so sententiously that "to train the mind without a knowledge of the mind is absurd?" If so, this pedagogical psychology must be extravagantly absurd. For it "titillates and tattoos" a ganglion called the brain, and, as to mind, that it neither knows of nor cares to use.

For our part, we prefer a psychology that includes mind and soul. And, if, thanks to the beneficence of Him who hath given wisdom to mankind, such psychology is old we do not object to it on that account. Oftentimes the old wine is best.

THOS. HUGHES, S. J.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY.

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## THE SUPERNATURAL AND ITS IMITATIONS.

IT is not from a theological, but rather from a philosophical, point of view that "the supernatural" shall be treated in the present article. It is manifest that all subjects which are connected with religion may be treated from a standpoint of natural reason, as well as from a standpoint of revelation; for, though much is required of the Christian conscience in the belief of what is *above* the natural reason, nothing is required of it which reason would condemn as being *contrary* to the revealed attributes of God. That the mysteries of the faith should be above the natural reason is a matter of course to the believer; for, since a divine religion is the communication of the divine mind, it must follow that the merely natural intelligence cannot penetrate the mysteries of the faith. If the natural intelligence could penetrate divine mysteries, it would follow (paradoxically) that such mysteries were not divine, since the creature can no more aspire to the intelligence of the creator than he can emulate His power or His holiness. "The mystery of faith" is a note of its probability, for, as Cardinal Newman has said, it is impossible that the Almighty should reveal to the natural mind that which is above the natural mind, save either as a mystery to be believed or by a direct miracle operating on the intellect.

We may start, then, even rationally, with the postulate: If Christianity be divine, the supernatural must be its first characteristic. Nor does this characteristic attach only to its origin; it attaches to its whole compass, its whole life. Granted a supernatural origin, the continuance of the processes must be supernatural. Granted the Incarnation, then the link of God with man can never be broken or interrupted. And as to what we call the "miraculous" or an evidence of the supernatural which can be authenticated—this also is inseparable, rationally speaking, from the divinity of the religion of Christianity. Philosophy, pure reason, even common sense, can make it evident that what we may call the evidences of the supernatural may be looked for as probable, if not assured.

Indeed, nothing could be more irrational than to suppose that the Incarnation would not be followed by occasional glimpses of the unseen. Nothing could be more irrational than to suppose that our divine Lord, who was incarnate of the immaculate Virgin Mary, and dwelt for thirty-three years on this earth, should

then withdraw himself so as never again to afford an evidence that He was with us to the consummation of all things. Such a belief would militate equally against the divinity of the Christian faith and our trust in the infinite tenderness of God. As an Irish Protestant judge has expressed it: "I do not see how Jesus Christ can be divine if there is to be no manifestation of Him for two thousand years; *we* want the occasional glimpses of His presence as much as His disciples wanted the full sight; the Catholics, therefore, are right in their conviction that the supernatural must sometimes illumine the earth, as the sun sometimes breaks through the clouds." This is certainly a conclusion of natural reason; the premise being that our religion is supernatural, the inference is that, at least, occasional intimations will justify its primary characteristic.

Let us go back to what we may call the beginning—the beginning in the sense of human reckoning, or before creatureship, as we know of it, was in existence. Now, it is true that there may have been creatureship "before the worlds were," before our universe, as we apprehend it, was even begun; yet it is certain that the creator must have preceded all creatureship, that the cause must have preceded the effect, that life must have preceded natural laws. It is certain that eternal mind must have preceded creature-intelligence, that eternal power must have preceded creature-capacity, that eternal will must have preceded creature-volition and eternal holiness creature-sense of right and wrong. All such certainties put back everything to the alone God, so that without the alone God there is nothing at all. We may lay it down as the first postulate in sound philosophy that God was the alone from ever and ever—the alone, not in the human sense of loneliness, but in the divine sense of being all in all. "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end." Such is the first postulate of sound philosophy. And until we have well grasped this first postulate we cannot even discuss the supernatural. Until, that is, we have certified our natural reason that there is not, never was and never could be any being who was not the creature of the divine will, nor any existence that was not begotten solely of His existence, we cannot proceed to ask ourselves, "Do we believe in the supernatural; do we believe in the possibility of apparitions, in the visitations of a soul after death; of the miraculous cure of sickness in answer to faith; or in the possibility of anything which does not happen by the natural law, but by a law which, equally real, is supernatural?" In other words, until we attribute all nature to the living God, and, therefore, deny that there can be anything that is not His, we are not in a position to rationally inquire: "Can



the God who alone moves heaven and earth consistently vary those movements by unknown laws?"

We will argue the question, first, from pure nature; then from the dispensation to the Jews; and then from the Christian dispensation.

We insist, first, that nature is a most powerful advocate for the reasonableness of the expectation of the supernatural. What is nature but God's will in operation? so that to say, as some men say, "It is only natural; there is no need to presuppose a divine providence," is an idolatry of second causes, which is, in itself, most irrational, for it makes all effect its own cause. We affirm, that all nature is supernatural, in the sense that its cause is above nature, and the effect, therefore, is supernaturally produced. If nature could have no being save by the will of her creator, then was she supernaturally caused; nor can we look at the tiniest leaf or the tiniest insect without confessing, "God caused you, and, therefore, are you in real sense supernatural." Nature not only presupposes the supernatural; nature is, herself, supernatural; supernaturally sustained by the energy of divine laws, which is the same thing as the energy of the living God. Nature would cease if God ceased; for her whirl of worlds and perpetual impetus are not inherent in herself; they are not, strictly speaking, imparted; they are sustained. A dead stop would occur in one second, if God were to say, "I will leave nature alone." What are called, "natural laws"—motion, force, gravitation—were not begotten by any element or by spontaneity; they could not be; for that which has no mind could not evolve exquisite systems of working order; they were begotten of a cause, whose intelligence and whose power must be absolutely boundless and eternal. But, the "laws"—and remember, that all men admit laws—belong to the lawgiver, not to his creatures; and to suppose that God has retired from His own laws, instead of continuously perpetuating their operation, would be to suppose that life had abdicated its functions in favor of an inanimate materialism; that infinite intellect had left it to creature-instinct to work out perpetual marvels of changes (such as the before and the after of the chrysalis); that divine love had left the nursing and the tending of the countless varieties of creatureship to their own (non-existent) supreme wisdom, or, as in the case of human beings, to their feebleness; that the father had nothing more to do with his offspring, the originator with his own perfect plans. It is such thoughts as these which lead us to affirm rationally that nature is a perpetual supernatural. God is everywhere, "by essence, by presence, and by power," and therefore is there a supernatural in all things. "The Lord hath His way in the whirlwind and the storm, and the clouds are the dust

of his feet." Nor is there a breath of air which is not laden with divine law, nor a ray of light which is not law in operation, and which, therefore, in real sense, may not be called supernatural, because God not only creates but sustains them.

If nature, then, be in real sense supernatural, equally in sustenance and in origination, what should we, rationally, expect from revealed religion, which is the communication of the divine intimacies and confidences? Wonderful would it be if such intimacies and confidences never found expression in "the supernatural"—or, perhaps more accurately speaking, in the *evidences* of the supernatural, such as what we call miracles and apparitions. Wonderful would it be, if He, of whose works, in the book of Job, we have such magnificently realistic delineation, should never light up the spiritual world by a gleam of His presence, as he lights up the material world by His lightning. And so, we will now pass on to consider the supernatural in dispensation; the supernatural as a consequence of revelation. And first, as to the dispensation to the Jews.

The whole history of Judaism was supernatural. If in these days such marvellous things were to occur as occurred almost continuously in Jewish times, what would our incredulous critics think of them? The Dispensation to the Jews was miracle from end to end; miracle in the giving of the Law; miracle in the sustenance of the wandering Israelites; miracle in the fearful judgments upon the disobedient; miracle in the divine worship, in the Shekinah, and within the Ark; miracle in the communications of the divine will and in the immediate operations of that will. But it has been objected by skeptics that, even admitting this supernaturalism, we should yet have to account for the obvious absence of the supernatural in the whole pagan life of the Gentile world. We may reply that we are not called upon to account for it at all—even if we should admit it, which we do not—for the doctrine of divine election is not only a doctrine, it is a *fact*; it is a fact which is witnessed in every department of creation; in the material as in the human creation; in all things, great and small, high and low; the divine choice being as obvious as is the divine power, and being an incommunicable prerogative of the divine mind. *Why* God should choose races and persons just as He chooses times and seasons, or chooses suns, oceans, and mountains in material things, for more than ordinary manifestations of His power, is an inquiry which we have no right to make, and which, if we did make, must be futile. Why there should be an abundance of the supernatural under a covenant which is exceptional and extraordinary, and an apparent absence of such abundance, say, in the Gentile world, or, say, in the heretical and schismatical material world, is a question which natu-

ral reason may wish to consider, but which reverence simply puts aside as beyond us. The supernatural, as we commonly understand it, is an operation of the election of the divine wisdom, whether we consider it as in the province of things spiritual, or in the province of things material and natural. Indeed, the supernatural *is* election. This election is, no doubt, in perfect harmony with the unity of all the purposes of God; with the oneness which runs through infinite operations; still, it is an exercise of the prerogative of God, which is both to choose and to do as He chooses. We can comprehend this quite apart from the Christian faith; for even natural religion tells us that the God of Nature both chooses and does what He chooses; while Revelation, from beginning to end, is divine election, yet justified by God's mercies to all. Election cannot imply the least injustice. This would be both fallacy and impiety. Thus the Catholic Church has always anathematized that detestable Calvinism which denied that God willed that all men should be saved; while at the same time she has always taught that special favors, special graces, were necessarily within the prerogative of the King of Kings, who is above all questioning as to the why of His election.

From Judaism, with its two characteristics, which we may perhaps call election and the supernatural, let us pass to the supernatural in Christianity.

Now here we are positively baffled in our first attempts at reasoning by the immensity of the supernatural in Christianity. It is *all* supernatural. It is *all* God. We will not dwell on the Incarnation; it is too high for us; for our human thoughts, as it were, become caught up into divine spheres where we can only kneel, not talk.

Yet our question is: What might we, rationally, expect of this dispensation in the way of occasional glimpses of the unseen, occasional direct evidences of the supernatural?

We must begin by alluding to Catholic doctrine; and here, at first starting, it is necessary to speak frankly, so as to avoid a too probable misapprehension. Catholic doctrine is distinct from all other doctrine. Its basis is infallible authority, its structure is one harmonious whole. Not disjointed, not fragmentary, as is Protestant doctrine, it is, to use a feeble comparison, like a proposition of Euclid, which, inerrant from step to step in demonstration, culminates in indisputable certainty. We may say of the natural reason that, when illumined by faith, it apprehends the pure reason of Catholicity. The supernatural is brought within the range of the natural reason by that highest exercise of the natural reason—Catholic faith. Reason, having paid its homage to divine authority, receives, in return, the divine gift of faith, which is given



only *in its fulness* in the Catholic Church. And it is on this "fulness" we wish to dwell. It is this "fulness" which explains every difficulty. A broken faith, such as is common to non-Catholics, fails to see the consistency of miracles—of what is ordinarily called the supernatural—with the daily routine of its normal life. And possibly the broken faith is quite right. There would be no apparent, if even possible, consistency. Thus, what could there be in common between the public worship of the Church of England and the expectation of a miraculous cure of some infirmity: between the repudiation of the doctrine of a cleansing purgatory and the reappearance of a suffering soul after death; between a memorial service in pious remembrance of the dead, and the assured hope of immediate results from intercession; above all, from the adorable sacrifice of the Mass; between the rejection of the doctrine of the invocation of saints and the looking for wondrous aids from their great power: between the isolation of Protestant heresies and schisms and the fact of the Catholic communion of saints, which can only be perfectly realized within the Church; between the neglect of the Blessed Virgin—characteristic of all Protestantism—and the tender intimacies and confidences which are exceptional to that one communion which has been well called the earthly family of God? We need not go further in the way of contrasts to illustrate what we mean by Catholic "fulness," or by its too obvious opposite, Protestant emptiness. The expectation of the supernatural, of miracle, of apparition, would be as inconsistent with the opinionativeness of non-Catholics as it is integral with that philosophy which, beginning with the alone God, consistently realizes the "fulness" of Christianity.

But "inconsistency" is not our only accusation against those who reject the supernatural in its constant manifestations in the Catholic Church. We must affirm that the rejection of all miracle—not of this or that, but of all miracle—is transparently fatal to the belief that Jesus Christ is now "sat down on the right hand of the Father." See what a contradiction such a belief would establish between the thirty-three years of Christ's earthly life and the eternity of his life in the heavens. Instead of inferring—surely a most just inference—that the glorified Saviour is now more powerful with His Divine Father than before He had accomplished our redemption, it would insist that He had altogether ceased to work wonders, to do what He was constantly doing upon earth—heal the blind and the deaf and the halt. For at least the three years of His ministry (we have tradition only as to the previous thirty years) He was constantly engaged in working miracles; yet for two thousand years He has not only withdrawn

His presence, but withdrawn also His power, His beneficence! How can this be? How can we identify the Christ who is in heaven with the Christ of whom we read in the Gospels, if the heavenly life is absolutely silent in regard to man, while the earthly life is daily eloquent with miracle? Natural reason—and this article is not intended to be theological, but only, as it were, rational or philosophical—must surely tell us that the primary note of the true faith must be its belief in, and possession of, the supernatural. The possession is quite as important as is the belief. If there has been *no* evidence of the supernatural for nearly two thousand years, we should be inclined to concede to the rationalist some sense in his favorite taunt, “There is now *no* indication of the living Christ.”

One word, too, as to the Acts of the Apostles. Those Acts are a record of constant miracle. Yet we are asked to believe that, when the last of the Apostles died, nature assumed a sole dominance; no break of heavenly light illumining for long centuries the Christian world which God had made His home. Can anything be more unnatural, less likely? The home of the Incarnate Word, and the sphere of the Acts of His Apostles, had been from beginning to end full of miracle. Henceforth there is to be darkness, nature only; the supernatural having come to an abrupt end. We cannot believe this. To introduce an empire of the supernatural, simply to crush it out of existence by its very establishment, would be as unlikely as to crown paganism with rewards, or unbelief with extraordinary divine favors.

We pass now to the consideration of the *facts* of the supernatural; nor ought there to be any difficulty in believing them. To begin with, there are true miracles, and there are false. There are true apparitions, and there are false. There are true records of miraculous interferences, and there are lying fictions by the score, by the hundred, not only in all countries but in all times. We will presently say a word about “lying wonders.” For the moment let us speak only of the popular attitude of the non-Catholic mind, when there is some talk about a Roman Catholic miracle. The man of the world says, “Oh, what credulity, what superstition”; the credulity and the superstition being in the believing that the Son of God has not wholly withdrawn Himself from His own creation. But the man of the world says, “A miracle is at least very rare; for I never heard of a well authenticated case, though I have heard of many inventions and deceits.” True, miracles (in some countries) are very rare, and we know the cause, for we have been told it: “He did not many mighty works there because of their unbelief.” Let us take that explanation home for our own reproach. What would it avail to “work a miracle” in New York, if the merchants and the stock-brokers only cried out,

"Oh, what credulity, what superstition!" It has been almost the rule in the Christian centuries, that, where there have been miracles, the neighborhood has been simple and unworldly; some retired spot, not a crowded city, being divinely chosen for the gentle visitations of the divine favor. The "wise and prudent" are not often so visited; it is the "babes" to whom the power is revealed. And the reason is transparent to the Christian mind. To be able to receive the supernatural, a man must be in full possession of the certainty that "the world" is really an intrusion upon the supernatural, not the supernatural upon the world.

Probably one reason why what we may call "the world" has such a hazy idea of the supernatural is that the "*imitations*" of it are so grotesquely unreal that the true supernatural becomes clouded. Yet before we speak of these "imitations" (and almost all "false miracles," as they are called, are imitations, in some sense, of the supernatural) let us consider the popular fallacy, that the multiplicity of imitations throws doubt upon the existence of the real. Most non-Catholics, if they do not deny the real, either ignore it or treat it as speculative. Many books have been written upon this principle—the principle of the speculativeness of the supernatural—and this, not as to particular instances of the supernatural, but as to the probability of there being a supernatural at all. Thus Mr. Andrew Lang, in a recent amusing book, of which the title is "*Cock Lane and Common Sense*"—a book full of research and temperate comment—gives us a capital specimen of the shrewd treatment of the unreal with an (apparent) ignoring of the existence of the real. Speaking of ghosts, Mr. Lang says, "A wraith, if wraiths there be, is as natural as indigestion." This is true. But the point is that a million sham wraiths do not prove the non-existence of one real one. Mr. Lang, however, is candid and judicious, and has a mind above the weakness of incredulity, for he says, "Uniform and recurrent evidence vouches for a mass of phenomena which science scouts." Here, then, we have the proper respect for evidence as to its value in the attestation of facts; while the facts themselves have to be left unexplained, not only as to their cause but their nature. To reject the value of evidence would be to put an end to all law courts; since upon evidence alone is every defendant first tried, and then either acquitted or punished. No man, therefore, can make light of evidence. But the evidence as to a fact—say, a so-called apparition—is not necessarily an evidence as to the nature of that fact, its properties, its essence, its cause. All that the ordinary witness can say is, "I saw so and so"; and if he be a credible witness his evidence may be accepted—so far only as that he did see what he said he saw. The explanation, the solution, is left unvouched for. So that we see at a glance how very great is the distance between the reality of a fact which



is attested and the certainty of that fact being attributable to causes (1) supernatural (2) natural, or (3) tricky.

And it is just here that the subject of "imitations" presses upon us closely for consideration. We begin by saying that we must *look for* imitations, we must expect them; they always were, always must be. What is there in religion that has not been imitated? It is positively impossible to mention any sphere of the Christian life where imitation has not warred against the truth. We need not speak of true and sham doctrines, of true and sham piety, of true and sham "callings" or vocations. Nor need we speak of true and sham authority, of true and sham Christian churches. Such examples of the true and the sham stare us in the face almost every day. Let us rather speak then of *systems* of the supernatural; (1) supernatural means of attaining sanctity; (2) supernatural means of learning divine truths; (3) supernatural imitations or forecasts.

Very briefly it can be shown that such "imitations" prove the certainty that there must be "the true" to be imitated; that consciously or unconsciously, men have "argued for" the Catholic faith, though they knew nothing or but very little about it.

Now take the system popularly known as mysticism; or the aspiring to arrive at close union with God, in a sense altogether above nature. No system has been more imitated—and very successfully—even outside the whole province of revealed truth. The wise men of the East, Buddhist or Mohammedan; the eastern and western Platonists or Neo-Platonists, the more modern religious scientists, such as Behmen, the Swedish Swedenborg, the fantastic Muggletonians, the Cabbalists, Perfectionists, and hosts of others, have given us their ideas of "schools" of mysticism, in which, of course, there is some truth and much error. But what of the *true* schools of Mystics? Can any one who is even superficially acquainted with the lives and writings of St. Teresa, St. Catherine, St. Bernard, St. John of the Cross, or numerous other "intellectual" Catholic saints, fail to see what a wide gulf is placed between the Catholic and the non-Catholic mysticism? The true mysticism soars higher and higher; the sham mysticism sinks lower and lower. Anabaptists or fifth Monarchists, Joanna Southcott or Joseph Smith, were only caricatures of that sham mysticism which, wanting perfect faith and perfect humility, tried to leap at a bound from earth to Heaven; and ignoring the truth that long years of probation must precede the admission into higher communion, impatiently leaped at impossible heights, while really they were not out of their depths. St. Francis of Assisi, a marvel of true mysticism, was *less* wonderful in his miracles than in his sanctity; for the miracles were God's working, but the sanctity was first merited by the endurance of an anguish of probation. True mys-

ticism is the crowning of true sanctity. And here the true and the sham can be discerned. The imitators, no matter of what school, while proving themselves unreal by their fictional piety, prove the truth of Catholic mysticism by aiming at "the supernatural," while confessing to their distaste for its probation.

Now, this imitation of the true mysticism is an imitation of the supernatural *life*; but let us now take an imitation of the supernatural *belief*, of faith in the whole compass of Revelation. There is one such imitation which is now much talked of and also much written about in the newspapers, and it is glorified by the grand title, Theosophy. This Theosophy is an apeing of a knowledge above nature; of a sort of exclusive or exquisitely privileged revelation. The "secret doctrine," as it is called, or the "synthesis of science, religion and philosophy," is supposed to be a revival of esoteric Buddhism, or a fresh getting behind the veils of long lost Aryan cabalistic and occult speculation, in regard to the genesis and evolution of the universe, and particularly of man or human history. Modernism has dressed up these fancies in flowing skirts, and a prophetess has vouched for their genuineness. But readers of Max Müller, Edwin Arnold, J. F. Clarke, or Samuel Johnson, have been accustomed to ponder eastern philosophies, and are not to be led away by such bold nonsense as we find published by the most distinguished Theosophists, as, for example, "one task is left incomplete, that of disposing of the most pernicious of all theological dogmas, the curse under which mankind is said to have suffered ever since the supposed disobedience of Adam and Eve in the bower of Eden." Here, then, we have "occultism" set against Revelation, or a war declared against divine dispensation by the mere freaks and fads of nebulous dreamers. Yet, let us see how "imitation" (perhaps unconsciously) is characteristic of this modern affectation. It has been well observed by a keen writer: "Jesus Christ was at once the greatest occultist and the plainest-spoken being that ever lived; but Madame Blavatsky seems to have made small effort to get at the key of His occultism. This is the crying fault of all modern cranks. . . . Readers with any true perception of the real genius and mission of Judaism and Christianity in this world will as readily perceive and assert that Madame Blavatsky is as ignorant of all this as the famous Balaam once was of the divine guidance until the animal on which he rode, etc." Occultism is, then, in its *modern* interpretation (in its eastern mood it was a pardonable groping) a burlesque on the hidden life of grace and truth, the "grace" having for its modern substitute a morbid vanity and complacency, and the "truth" a feeble jugglery with superstition.

That word "superstition" suggests another system, for superstition has played so large a part in modern life that it may be

said to be a system of imitation. Superstition, in its popular sense, is a craving after the supernatural; a longing to find something which is above nature in what is really only consistent with or beneath nature. Yet, superstition is a homage paid to truth. Gypsies and sheeted spectres, fictitious witches, and supposed demons, have taken the place, in the enfeebled mind, of the belief in the supernatural, so that many persons who would laugh incredulously at "a Catholic miracle" cannot sleep at night because some omen has disturbed them; because (as in Transylvanian superstitions) a crow has flown straight over the head, or a spider has been killed in the twilight, or a hare has darted suddenly across the path. All such beliefs, or rather dreads, are born of the conviction that there is and must be a supernatural in the natural life, and, therefore, constitute an "imitation" of the true Christian faith in the omnipresence and omnipotence of God.

Yet undoubtedly the worst of all imitations is that which we understand by the preternatural. Here we have an imitation which is purely diabolical, and which has flourished in all ages and all countries. We read of it in the Old Testament and in the New. Under such names as witchcraft or necromancy, magic, dark dealing, or enchantment, we are all familiar with preternatural wickedness; the precise boundary between the evil and the illusory being often beyond natural discovery. It would seem as though the evil one from the very beginning had tried to confuse his own work with the divine work, so as to blind men to the true nature of evil. The imitations were begun in the earliest days. Even in the half innocent fancy-cults, which we read of as being paganly primitive—and which, after all, were little more than a natural confusion of ineffective analogy with effective cause—we can trace the design of the evil one to throw dust in men's eyes, that they might be the more easily deceived by his machinations. In the earliest Egyptian magic we have the invoking of deities, sometimes supposed to be good, sometimes bad; in the Babylonian magic we have the belief in wicked demons, with the belief also, in at least a virtuous deity (for example, take the prayer in cuneiform characters: "From the burning spirit of the entrails which worketh evil may the King of Heaven preserve.") Among the Greeks there was a belief in the magical transformation of men and women into hideous animals, with revolting "messes of witchcraft" (Shakespeare has detailed them) and ludicrous processes of deliverance or disenchantment; among the Romans there was a belief in the divining powers of sham priests, of the auspex, the augur, the haruspex; indeed all down the ages we have that mixture of false and true which may well be called the devil's imitation, with a view to the bewilderment of men's minds. From the days of the Egyptian magi, who, as we read in the Old Testament,



imitated the miracles which were supernatural ; through the days of our Lord's ministry, when evil spirits " entered into " and were " cast out of " men's bodies ; down to our own days when the new " Spiritualism " at least *sometimes* works wonders which neither science nor investigation can account for ; we have the evidence of a diabolical imitation which is indisputable as to origin and purpose. Thus the preternatural in all ages has marched side by side with what it would strive to imitate, the supernatural. The Catholic Church for nineteen centuries has been on the watch for these imitations, well knowing that the devil, who has been called the ape of God, must be always trying to bring discredit upon the true by every artifice of simulation and obtenebration.

We have thus taken (1) Nature, (2) Judaism, (3) Christianity, as all leading us to *expect* the supernatural in the sense in which it is popularly understood ; we have (4) argued that the imitations of the supernatural are positive proof of the existence of the real ; we have (5) urged that the disposition in all ages to believe in a supernatural religion has been made manifest by scores of inventions of false religions ; and that (6) evil spirits, like wicked men, have tried to ape the supernatural, so as to confuse the divine dealings with their own impiety.

If, in conclusion, one word may be added as to the fact of the supernatural in the Catholic Church, it shall be only to show that the Catholic Church, by her divine mission, is the appointed guardian of the (Christianly) supernatural, and can alone consistently claim to be its home.

We have already spoken of the " fulness of the faith "—impossible in any communion but the Roman Catholic. An infallible authority upon all points of faith ; the perpetual presence of the Son of God upon Catholic altars ; with all the wondrous realities and intimacies of a covenant to which even imagination could find no parallel ; such " fulness " prepares the mind to repeat the supernatural in the whole kingdom of God's relations with Catholics.

Let us go back for one moment to the day of the Crucifixion, to the road to Calvary where our Lord fell three times. St. Veronica, full of charity as of faith, wiped the face of her Divine Lord with her veil ; and that charity and that faith were rewarded by the imprinting of the exact image of the Sacred Face upon the veil. At the present day there are numerous copies of that veil ; and there is a special devotion called the " devotion to the Sacred Face." Now these copies from the original veil have worked wonders. Let one illustration be here mentioned. The present writer was privileged with an acquaintance with " the holy man of Tours," Monsieur Dupont ; who always kept in his oratory a picture of the Sacred Face, before which a lamp was perpetually burning. Scores, literally scores, of afflicted persons would come to Monsieur Du-

pont to be healed, and he would anoint them with the oil from the lamp; in almost every case the blind receiving their sight, the lame receiving renewal of their activity, and the afflicted ones of all kinds leaving Monsieur Dupont "cured," and praising God for the miraculous favor. And the secret of the miraculous favor, so far as Monsieur Dupont was concerned, was that he spent his whole nights in prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, and the greater part of his days in reading the Bible. Hence the miracles.

And a word more as to the intimations of divine supernatural insights granted to the eye. The present writer was told by a French colonel who commanded the French troops in Rome at the time when Pius IX. was Pope and king, that he saw a white dove descend upon the head of that pontiff, and hover over him as he walked up a church-nave (it was in the monastery of the Camulduli near Rome), and then ascend through the roof over the altar, while the pontiff was adoring the Blessed Sacrament. All the officers who were present saw the same thing. And the same French colonel told the present writer that he had witnessed the same phenomenon in South America when Pius IX. was Papal Nuncio, and that numerous witnesses who were with him attested it. It would be easy to multiply such instances. The present writer, who lived for some years in Southern Europe, had numerous facts of this kind brought home to him by eye-witnesses; not by pious sentimentalists but by strong-minded men, to whom the weakness of credulity was as foreign as was the vice or the unreason of incredulity. Now it is no part of the Catholic faith to be obliged to believe in particular miracles (those that have been here named may be rejected) but it is consistent with the Catholic faith to believe that the Living Jesus can and does "lift the veil" from time to time. "The Lord's arm is not shortened"; the Almighty has not ceased to be omnipotent; He who raised Lazarus from the dead still works miracles. But our point at this moment is that the Catholic Church *alone* can be the true home of the perfect supernatural; perfect in the sense of the perfection of the Covenant which exists between God and His Church. The whole of the Catholic religion—from its first step, infallible authority, down to the least aid to devotion in the spiritual life—is grounded on the truth that, from the moment of the Incarnation, man was lifted up to a divine union. Not only did God become man, but man (by divine sacraments) became united to the Godhead, to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. This truth explains the reasonableness of the supernatural. A veil is drawn in the present life over the Beatific Vision so that man, in his present state, cannot see but by the supernatural sacraments—above all by holy Communion—he may be united with the three persons of the Trinity. Once let this fact be apprehended and the supernatural becomes

a matter of course. Conversely : if you degrade authority to private opinionness—as is done by all the Protestant sects ; if you say that confession is *not* the assurance of absolution ; that holy communion is *not* the real union of man's soul and body and intelligence with the human soul, the human nature, the divinity of Christ, that there is *not* a state of purgation after death, in which God mercifully pays Himself man's temporal debts, and therefore that there is *not* a communion of saints in the Catholic sense of the communion between heaven, earth and purgatory ; then should we be forced to admit that the supernatural in the Catholic Church had no reasonable, no philosophical ground. But all such negations are pure hypotheses ; they rest on the private opinionativeness of discordant sects ; they come from the loss of the “fulness” of the faith—possible only inside the true Church. They are therefore delusions. The “fulness” of the faith teaches the wholeness of Christianity, from its foundation-stone, infallible authority, to the minutest point and finish of the structure. Our own sins or imperfections may dull our lives ; but they cannot affect the divine perfection of the Catholic religion ; and that perfection includes the perfect supernatural—perfect in the divine laws of impartial justice, as well as in its tenderness and compassion.

Let those, therefore, who question the supernatural in the Catholic Church content themselves with questioning it *outside* the Church. They are on consistent ground as long as they say that private judgment is the sole pontiff in all matters of faith. From *that* hypothesis you can argue what you like. The supernatural is indeed out of the question. You cannot have a purely natural foundation and build upon it a supernatural structure. And private judgment as to the truths which belong to God—as to the dogmas which are of faith unto the salvation—is of no more value than would be the prattle of a child on some moot point of casuistry or metaphysics. Private judgment is the building of a pyramid upon water ; the rearing of a divine temple of truth upon the fiction of the caprice of human fancy. The supernatural must tumble down into the natural. But inside the Church all is safe. The supernatural has supernatural tests. All miracles, apparitions, supernatural intimations, which take place within the Catholic Church, can be submitted to the divine authority in the Church, in regard to their reality or unreality ; but to a person who does not believe in the supernatural there can be no such thing as the divine authority of the Church ; and to a person who does not believe in that authority there can be no guide who can either affirm the true principles of the supernatural, or distinguish between the real and its imitations.

A. F. MARSHALL.



## A CHRISTIAN SOLDIER.

THOSE who see something of the present state of France—its deep-rooted infidelity and practical persecution of all that its children once held dear—are sometimes tempted to wonder, as did the Israelite of old, whether, indeed, any virtue is left in her, any possibility of high heroism and Christian chivalry, such as in olden days seemed almost the special note of the compatriots of St. Louis and Duguesclin, of Bayard and Joan of Arc. Too bitter were it to decipher that writing on the wall which a hand invisible is slowly but surely penning within the once glorious habitation of the eldest daughter of the Church. Yet, as in the ranks of the Roman legions, a St. George and St. Maurice, St. Martin and St. Theodore were found, so in the army of the French republic of to-day some hearts still beat true to God and to His Church; some lives still bear witness to the faith which will endure forever.

Not many years since—it was the feast of St. Maurice and his companions, the soldier-martyrs of early Christian times—the body of another Christian soldier, General de Sonis, was laid to rest in a newly restored country parish church which seventeen years before had been the scene of one of the most touching and heroic episodes in that drama of horror, the Franco-Prussian war.

Upon the coffin lay his uniform, his sword, his decorations, and last, but not least, the blood-stained banner of the Pontifical Zouaves—that now historic banner of the Sacred Heart which, borne by its defenders, stood alone upon the field of Patay to redeem the honor of France. Not once, but again and again during the past three centuries, has France been called upon to dedicate herself to “that Heart which has so loved men;” again and again she has refused, yet it was the banner of the Sacred Heart which alone stood firm before the enemy when the soldiers of the republic quailed—that same banner which now covered with its blood-stained folds the coffin of one who for the past forty years had held an ever-ready sword for the defense of his country and his God. Beside the catafalque which held the mortal remains of General de Sonis knelt eight of his children, two daughters and six sons, of whom four were in uniform, and near them General de Charette with his zouaves. The rest of the church was crowded with military and civic personages who had come from all parts of France to render a last homage to this Christian hero, and to hear his panegyric from the lips of the great ecclesiastical orator of the

day, Monseigneur Freppel, Bishop of Angers. It was a magnificent oration, and its closing sentences ring almost startlingly in their pregnant meaning. "I do not know," spoke the bishop, "whether at the prayer of faith God will deign to work miracles in this ever-blessed spot. I do not know if the Church, always desirous of glorifying the chosen souls among her children, may not some day bring into still more vivid light a life in which the noblest Christian virtues were practiced in an heroic degree. But what public admiration permits me now to affirm without fear is that the memory of General de Sonis will remain through generations upon generations surrounded with the respect and veneration of all; for his was a life, indeed, great, both before God and before men."

On the feast of St. Louis of France—that royal saint whose name as long as Christendom shall endure will remain the synonym for all knightly prowess and saintly chivalry—a son was born to Lieutenant de Sonis, a young French officer then stationed in the lovely island of Guadaloupe, in the year 1825, and baptized by the names of Louis Gaston. His mother, a beautiful Creole, had found new happiness (after an infelicitous former marriage) in her second union with the brave and tender-hearted soldier who shared his fortunes with hers; and young Gaston's first memories were of a home of tropical beauty, cradled in the sheltering arms of a lovely, graceful, sad-eyed mother, and companioned by three sisters and a younger brother as they played beneath the cocoanut and banana trees of the West Indies. But those bright days were destined to be early closed. Family arrangements recalled Captain de Sonis to France, and his wife was unable to accompany him. They parted, the father taking their three elder children with him, while the weeping mother remained in Guadaloupe with her two younger ones and her aged father. The paternal grandmother, a kindly and pious woman, took the three half-orphaned little ones to her heart on their arrival and made a home for them in Paris, where Captain de Sonis, stationed at Versailles, could visit them from time to time and pour out his full heart in fond kisses and caresses to his dearly-loved little ones. Children and father alike counted the days when their gentle mother would be again among them; but alas! on the very eve of her departure she was stricken down by a fatal fever, and instead of her presence came the news of her death. It was Gaston's first sorrow and seemed, as it were, to mark the space between childhood and boyhood, for very soon afterwards their Parisian home was broken up, and the boy entered upon a course of military college life, destined to prepare him for his future career. He passed through several preparatory schools, some religiously and well organized, others, "hotbeds of vice," as he afterward termed them, and was

on the point of entering the well-known Collège de St. Cyr, when, after parting with his father in good health but a few hours before, he, with his sisters, was suddenly summoned to see him die.

From that hour the youth of nineteen stood alone in the world; doubly orphaned, the eldest of five brothers and sisters, who found themselves left by their father's death without home, family or fortune. His sisters returned to the Antilles for a time, two of them finally entering Carmelite convents in France, while the third married a medical man, and their younger brother, Theobald, adopted, like Gaston, their father's profession. All, though so early sent out like half-fledged birds into the world, lived truly Christian lives, Theobald being the only one who at one time yielded to the seductions of worldliness.

On entering the Collège de St. Cyr, young Gaston found the practice of religion surrounded with many difficulties. No chaplain was to be met with, no opportunities for approaching the sacraments, save in secrecy and without its walls. Small wonder, therefore, that only a very limited number of the light-hearted youths who inhabited it ever dreamed of fulfilling their religious duties; but Gaston de Sonis was ever one of that faithful few. His enthusiastic love for everything connected with his profession rendered him a general favorite, and his proficiency in riding, always a very strong point with him, ere long gained him the one boon he would above all have coveted, a commission in a cavalry regiment, and in April, 1848, he joined the 5th Hussars as sub-lieutenant at Castres.

It was in the first flush of boyish exultation over his new position, a soldier at last, and entering on days of real responsibility, that a pretty little episode occurred, which gave the first touch of romance to his young life. Gaston de Sonis was described by one of his companions about this time as "tall, well-grown, rather graceful than strong, with delicate features and limbs, and a singularly high-bred and aristocratic bearing"; and we may well believe, that as the little troop of soldiers rode into Castres, with the young lieutenant at their head, he was noted by many an appreciative eye. Among the rest of the townsfolk who crowded every window and street-corner to see the regiment go by, after the custom of country towns in every land, a young girl of seventeen, the daughter of the principal lawyer of the place, came out upon her balcony to watch the crowd. By some subtle magnetism the two became conscious each of the other's presence; Mademoiselle Anaïs Roger was pointed out to him by a brother-officer as one of the town's most charming daughters, while she, on her side, needed no prompting to note, with beating heart, the handsome young officer who, perchance, cast one fleeting but respectful



glance at her as he rode past. Later on they met; very soon they told their love, and ere long Louis Gaston de Sonis and Jeanna Antoinette Anaïs Roger pledged mutual troth to one another at the altar.

Never was there a more perfect Christian marriage. From that hour until the day of his death the most ideal oneness in tastes, in fervor, in love, united those two souls "whom God had joined together." For thirty-eight years heart beat responsive to heart, one depth of fervent piety called to the other, and hand in hand they received sorrows and joys as they came. All through these thirty-eight years their home was a changing one: now in this town, now in that alien country, in the necessary variableness of a soldier's life; and often the cross came to them, in temporary separations, in sorrows, in cares, in losses; while to Madame de Sonis it came often, too, in that hardest trial of inaction and ignorance, while her "other self" was braving perils and suffering want and pain far away on clanging battle-fields. For the first five years of their married life they lived very quietly on the more than modest means which their joint fortune amounted to, studying military books together, visiting picture galleries, caring for their growing family, and increasing visibly in the fear of God and love of His poor. Then came his promotion to be captain, with orders for Africa, and their first separation, for Madame de Sonis was expecting her fourth child, and could not accompany him, and thus began his twenty years' life in Algeria, the long campaign by which he made his name as a soldier and won his crown as a Christian hero.

Algeria may perhaps be said to occupy in some respects the same position towards France that India does to England. It is a constant field for warfare, ambition, promotion, an opportunity for seeing active service, and at the same time an interesting life of colonization. What the French occupation of Algeria might be, in the way of evangelizing an infidel country, may be learned from the interesting records which exist in the annals of such pioneers of religion as the Trappist monks, who have at once civilized and reclaimed whole tracts of country, following in the footsteps of their own country's army; but, unfortunately, modern France, as a nation, sets small store by such labor; and it was the saddest part of General de Sonis's military life that, enthusiastic soldier as he was, he found himself obliged to witness the most painful results from the utter neglect of his government to provide any religious provision for its Algerian troops and those in active service. "There is an immense apostolate to be done in the army," he wrote, "for there is genuine, honest faith under their uniforms, which one sees especially in campaigns, and in the midst of priva-

tions and death." And it was this "apostolate" which he practiced himself so faithfully that, as far as human knowledge can go, it is probable that many, nay, hundreds would not be too large a word to use, of his fellow-officers and soldiers owed their salvation to his care for them. One of the missionaries stationed near him thus described it: "His apostolate consisted in making religion pleasant and attractive to his companions by rendering them every kind of little service. If any of them were ill, he was the first by their bedside; and should any danger supervene, he would not only fetch the priest himself, but suggest holy thoughts to the sick man, and dispose him to receive me. He really was like a Christian of the Middle Ages. His interior life was more like that of a religious than of a soldier. Constant prayer and frequent communion raised him daily nearer and nearer perfection."

When he arrived in Algeria, alone and separated for the first time from his dearly loved wife and family, his instant impulse was to throw himself into works of charity; the Society of St. Vincent de Paul to be taken part in, orphanages to be visited, the sick poor of the city to be helped, and not least, the courageous manifestation before his brother officers of his Christian principles. "I find myself on capital terms with my comrades," he writes: "all the officers receive me most kindly, though I did not hesitate at once to profess myself a Christian. That is the essential thing, and that done our good God takes care of the rest and rewards one highly for the little one does for Him."

It has not always been a painless effort however, this profession of Catholicity in the barrack-room as well as on the field. Perhaps nothing more vividly paints it than an anecdote which he himself related of an incident in his earlier career while still stationed in France. "One day I was doing my duty with other officers in the mess-room and leaning against the chimney-piece with a newspaper in my hand, when I heard a little bell ringing at intervals which I fancied was for the Blessed Sacrament being carried to some sick person. I had a moment's struggle. Should I stand like the rest or kneel? But then I thought, 'If it were the emperor or even the general of division passing would not every one salute him? And this is my God.' Accordingly I went to the window quite determined to kneel on both knees as it passed, when what do I see? a vulgar cart, which an itinerant hawker was driving through the town with this little hypocritical bell! Well, our Lord, I hope, was satisfied with my good will."

Such instances as these one can easily imagine are constantly occurring in the life of every French soldier. At any moment he may be called upon in some seemingly trivial incident, to confess his faith before a jeering mess-room or some actively persecuting

knot of fellow-soldiers. An army which not only has suppressed the military Mass of the empire, but absolutely enforces absence from Mass and servile work on Sundays as practically part of its discipline; which, in the person of its superior officers lays commands upon its soldiers to break the laws of God by the practice of duelling, so that the colonel of a regiment may and will order two of his men to fight a duel and they dare not disobey; which sends its soldiers into the deserts of Africa to fight the enemies of France and to shed their blood for her, with neither chaplain nor any means of procuring the last rites of religion for the dying—some 5000 men fighting, suffering, falling under the double scourge of disease and of the sword, unnerved by the thought that, should they succumb, no priest will be near to receive their dying confession or help them into eternity (as was the case in the campaign through which General de Sonis served in Algeria), such is the French army of to-day; the army into which the young seminarist, fresh from his pious studies, the peasant lad, innocent from his mountain home, the son of many a noble Christian family, reared in refinement and shielded from every breath of evil—are year by year thrown, to lose alike their purity and their faith, and then perchance to die.

De Sonis, who loved his profession as a true soldier must ever do, was fully alive to these dangers, and spared no pains to combat them and to encourage by influence and example the young men who came in any way under his control. This soon became so well known that mothers would confide their sons to his paternal guidance on their entrance into the army, and priests commend the souls they cherished to his apostle-like support. "Our relations with M. de Sonis," wrote one of his subalterns, "were those of a child with his father, or a scholar with his master. My faith was weak enough when I arrived; he never missed an opportunity of strengthening it, not by preaching or discussing religious matters with me, but by putting a good book in my way, or showing me some touching kindness. The best of all examples was his own life."

The strength of such example may not inaptly be illustrated by a little sketch of him in his daily official life, drawn by a member of his staff, the Marquis de la Tour du Vin: "Monsieur de Sonis," he writes, "has left on me the impression of being one of the most high-bred gentlemen I have ever known. He always received me with a kindness and a charm of manner which went to one's heart. I had to go to him every morning to take his orders and transmit them to the camp, after which I saw to their execution. When things went wrong he was very much annoyed, and his first words showed it although they were always perfectly courteous. But



then, overcoming this first impulse of vexation or anxiety, he would change his tone and I observed he always fixed his eyes on something behind his bureau where he was standing or sitting. One day I went from curiosity behind this writing-table and there discovered a crucifix! It was a look at this which brought back his sweetness and peace of mind; and this will show you to what an extent he carried his feelings of duty—self-control and the source from which they were derived.”

Not long after De Sonis's arrival in Algiers he made a retreat with the Trappist monks at Stahueli under the direction of their celebrated superior, Dom Francois Regis. The foundation of this monastery in 1843 is perhaps one of the most interesting episodes in modern missionary work. It owed its being to a fervent French deputy, M. de Corcelle, who, having first become interested in the colonization of Algeria from a political and patriotic point of view, speedily perceived that as he said himself “the colony will cease to be French if it is not Christian,” and knowing the special aptitude of the Trappists for agricultural labor, suggested to the government that they should be invited as missionary colonists, with grants of land and pecuniary aid in order to cultivate and civilize both the land and the natives.

We are apt, perhaps, to picture to ourselves the white-robed Trappist as a solitary, somewhat gloomy figure, absorbed in the contemplation of his self-made grave, and wrapped in the seclusion of perpetual silence. We forget the activity, the intelligence, the productiveness of his spiritual ancestry, when Citeaux and its sons reclaimed wide acres by their toil, and everywhere up and down the land made the desert to blossom like a rose by the unwearyed toil of their fertile labor. The Trappist of to-day, far from carrying out the idea suggested by the old story of de Rancé at the coffin of his lady-love, is on the contrary an active, intelligent laborer in humanity's chiefest work; that of reclaiming and rendering fruitful its subject earth.

Among the many world-weary wanderers, old and young, whom these white-robed brethren have welcomed to their ranks from time to time, that “still small voice” of religious vocation which those who hear must needs leave all to follow, like the Apostles of old, whispered to a young and earnest priest just launched into his first cure of souls: and he “left all,” like them, home and friends, a devoted father and fond mother, and singularly attached circle of brothers and sisters, to enter the well-known monastery of Aiquibelle. We say well known, for the “chocolat d'Aiquibelle” like the Carthusian liqueur, is everywhere in use.

The young novice, who came of an ancient and noble, as well as pious family, became in religion Dom Francois Regis, and was

sent by his community as the pioneer and founder of their African monastery. The little band of monks were conducted to the scene of their future labors—a vast plain of some 1000 hectares (about 2500 acres), covered with wild shrubs, dwarf palms, and undergrowth, and there, camped in tents with a detachment of workmen, left to build, cultivate, and reclaim, as best they could, the barren wilds.

It must have been a picturesque scene. Under an aged palm tree, which towered high above the surrounding growths, the tall, graceful figure of the young Superior (he was only twenty-two years old) took solemn possession by planting a rude wooden cross in the ground; and the little party fell on their knees before it to recite a Pater, Ave, and Credo. Fifteen years afterwards, the Monastery of Stahueli had grown into a vast and imposing building, surrounded with gardens and orchards, with fields and sheep-folds, water-mills in good working order, carpentering sheds, brickyards, joineries, every necessity for a young and flourishing colony, in full activity.

The wondering Arabs of the surrounding districts watched, with *naïve* admiration, the white-robed “marabouts” as they called the good Fathers; the French officers stationed near claimed the kinship of a common race, and clustered round the kindly brethren, led by their wise and charming Superior, who “made himself all things to all men” as the Scripture says, to win souls to Christ.

Here, then, came Colonel de Sonis as to a little oasis of piety in the desert, and refreshed his soul with prayerful retreat, under the saintly guidance of its founder. He left Stahueli full of fresh plans and renewed zeal for souls, and pious projects “in reparation” as he wrote, “for the many outrages which our Lord is continually receiving here.”

After some time, Madame de Sonis and their children were able to rejoin him, and they resumed their happy domestic life, divided between military duties, pious exercises, and the education of their growing family. Owing to the constant insurrections of neighboring tribes, de Sonis and his fellow-officers were continually occupied in that unsatisfactory state of petty warfare which is necessitated by the near neighborhood of a hostile population; still he naturally preferred the soldier-like life of even an occasional skirmish to the inglorious monotony of garrison life in France, and when his regiment returned to its native country he begged to be transferred to a more active one, and joined the “1<sup>me</sup> Chasseurs d’Afrique,” where, as one of their number testified, he “very soon won all hearts.”

Somewhat to the surprise—and we may add, to the dissatisfac-

tion of de Sonis—he had not long entered this regiment when it was ordered to Italy, to take part in the campaign against Austria. This order involved a fresh separation between de Sonis and his wife, who returned to France, while he, with his regiment, set sail for Genoa. They arrived just in time to take part in the battles of Montebello and Magenta, during the latter of which de Sonis was posted all night in a wheatfield, waiting, bridle in hand, for the order to join the combatants. He was doomed to inaction on this occasion, but found an opportunity of doing what probably few could have accomplished so efficiently, viz., spending the whole of the following day in visiting and ministering to the sick and dying in the ambulances. During the remainder of the campaign he passed his days as follows: the description which he gave himself in later years is too beautiful in its noble and manly Christian simplicity to be omitted here:

“As soon as my regiment had arrived at their camp and I had given all the necessary orders to my troops, I used to go after the nearest church-spire to find the curé in his humble presbytery. Generally the good priest knew as much French as I did Italian, so that I had to brush up my college Latin to make myself understood. ‘Will you please hear my confession as soon as possible?’ I would say on coming in. ‘We will talk afterwards if there be time.’ When I could, I went to Communion directly after; if it were too late, then next morning. After that, I came back joyfully to camp, full of peace and of the love of God. Death might come, but I was all right, and remounted my horse ready for any sacrifice.”

Or again, in another account: “Often when we were scouring the country very early in the morning, we came upon a church. My friend Robert was with me, and we used to say, ‘The Master is there! let us stop for a few minutes.’ Alighting from our horses we used to run into the church, and if the priest was there, we used to get Holy Communion. Then we had to start again at once, making our thanksgiving on horseback, for the time was not our own; but oh, the strength and comfort of those few moments!”

At the battle of Solferino, which decided the fate of the campaign, he was in the thick of the fight, and received the Cross of Honor on the battlefield; but he would fain have won it in a nobler cause, for with the instinct of a fervent Christian he feared that in fighting for Italy he was but furthering the aims of the Church’s enemies, and he was not altogether sorry when the time came to return with the 1st Chasseurs to Algiers in 1859.

His next campaign was an expedition into Morocco, where success crowned the arms of the French, but they were decimated by



a fearful visitation of cholera; and it was at this time, when that fell disease was literally mowing down their men, at the rate of a hundred daily, that an army of 15,000 soldiers was left without chaplain or any spiritual aid. "Every morning," wrote an eye-witness, "we had to dig the graves of those who had died during the night before breaking up the camp. On our road, the men fell from their horses, when this fearful epidemic seized them. They were convulsed with agony for a few moments, and then died before any help could be brought to them." One officer, when he felt that his end was near and no priest to be found, begged de Sonis, who had taught him the love of God which was helping him to die, to hear his confession; fortunately, however, he lived to receive absolution from a priest who after great difficulty had been brought to the death-bed of a fellow-officer, Colonel de Montalembert.

De Sonis himself, who stood by so many death-beds, escaped this danger as he had passed through the battlefield, unscathed; and soon after had the happiness of being able to pay a short visit to France, where he settled his elder children in schools, enjoyed a brief period of rest with his wife, joined the Third Order of Mt. Carmel, which, as one gathers from various indications, afforded him no little help in his spiritual progress, and then returned to his work in Algeria.

Immediately on his arrival, Colonel de Sonis was named Commandant of the Circle of Tenez, which gave him absolute command over a whole province, in a good climate, and with a pleasant and commodious government house. He sent for his wife and children, and they settled themselves happily and hopefully in a new home. But the time of peace was a short one; he was transferred to another province, that of Laphonat, where ere long a revolt took place among the native Arabs, which de Sonis quelled with soldierly firmness, and after suffering the annoyance of an undeserved recall to headquarters (by way of reprimand for what was deemed unnecessary severity towards the insurgents), he was honored with another commandership, first at Taida and then again at Laphonat. In both places his influence and example speedily resulted in quite a resurrection of faith among his fellow-soldiers, while the Arabs, noting his prayers, his fasting, his just judgments and upright life, were full of admiration of "the truly just one," "Moula-ed-Dine," as they called him, meaning a master of faith and piety.

Laphonat seems to have been his favorite station, and he often declared that he would like to have remained there all his life. One of his staff officers wrote a description of his quiet busy days there which give a pleasing picture of the Christian general at home.

"What struck me most in his beautiful life, was the activity, order and regularity which distinguished it. Everything had a fixed hour,

like the life of a religious rather than of a soldier. The first part of the day was always given to God. Very early in the morning he would retire into some quiet spot to pray, make his meditation and read some pious book. He used to prefer the Gospel or the Invitation for this purpose. At half-past six or seven he went to Mass in silence. I generally accompanied him. Sometimes while crossing the square I would make some joke, which made him smile; but he used to reprove me afterwards, saying that the Mahometans were always grave and serious when they went to say their prayers, and that my laughter would seem irreverent to them. As soon as he came back from church he breakfasted quickly, received some visits from French or Arab officers, and at nine o'clock made his report.

"After the second breakfast which was served at eleven o'clock, he used to take a little walk with Madame de Sonis and the children. Then he went out on horseback till half-past two, when he came home and went back to his work. Besides his professional duties he always studied both religious and new military works, such as '*L'Armée in 1867*,' by General Trochu. This went on till supper time, when he gave the rest of his evening to his family. Except his little office book as a Tertiary of Mount Carmel, he never read anything after that; but the day closed with saying the rosary and night prayers all together. A priest having one day expressed his astonishment at all he was able to get through, he answered smiling, '*God always multiplies the time for those that serve Him.*'"

It was not, however, always so tranquil a life. In the year 1869 a fresh outbreak among the Arabs and the proclamation of a "holy war," resulted in the battle of "d'Ain Madhi," when, chiefly owing to de Sonis's energy and skill, a complete victory resulted for the French arms, notwithstanding the numerical superiority of the enemy who were about four to one. De Sonis had, in fact, only about 900 men and 46 officers to oppose at least 3000 Arab cavalry and 1000 infantry. He was warmly praised and covered with glory by the accounts sent home in official dispatches of the campaign, and received an augmentation of rank, compliments from the emperor, who presented him with his "*Vie de Cesar*," and congratulations from his brother officers, who organized a grand military fête in his honor. Not long afterwards he was dispatched as commander to Aumale, the most important military post in Algeria, and it was here that he passed the last year of his oriental life, from 1869 to 1870, when the Franco-German War recalled him with so many others to defend his country on its own soil.

Colonel and Madame de Sonis had now been married for more than twenty years, and the eldest of their very numerous family—

nine on earth, and two more "little angels," as he wrote of them, in heaven, were of an age to choose their path in life. We can only here briefly mention that no less than three of his sons followed their father's profession, and were serving, like, though never with him, through all the Franco-Prussian campaign. One, Henry, narrowly escaped being among those Pontifical Zouaves at whose head he fought his sorest fight, for the youth wrote from the college in which he was studying in 1867, a passionate appeal to his father to allow him to don a sword in defence of the Holy See. M. de Sonis wrote in reply a touching assent to his son's desire to fight in "the noblest cause on earth" under their chivalrous countryman, de Charette, but the boy's services were declined upon the score of youth.

Their eldest daughter, Marie, from her earliest years the pride and mainstay of the family, soon followed the religious vocation, won perhaps by her father's piety, and became a nun of the Sacred Heart.

In the month of May, 1870, Marshal MacMahon, then governor of Algeria, came on his tour of inspection to Aumale, where Colonel de Sonis was then in command. Rumors were even then afloat as to the possibility of war, and discussion ran high among the officers, in the too confident strain of assurance which, unhappily, marked the whole tone of the French army at that time. One man alone of all the little coterie ventured to feel and to express his doubts as to their readiness for action, and one can well imagine the indignation with which his comrades must have scouted his misgivings. Did the prescience of coming events, which sometimes marks those whose souls are knit in close union with God, come to de Sonis in that hour? Who can tell? Or did his own intimate knowledge of abuses, tyrannies, internal demoralization and lack of discipline and order lead him to judge, *as he did*, that disaster was imminent? War was declared, as we know, on July 15th, and in the following month he wrote: "Mon Dieu! how could this campaign have been undertaken when nothing was ready?" It became the universal cry.

The war went on; all his three sons and his brother were engaged in the campaign, and still de Sonis was retained at his Algerian post, notwithstanding his entreaties to be allowed to return to France and join in the defence of his country. At last the summons came. In answer to his petition to be allowed to go as a common soldier in the ranks against the enemy, he received the order to join the army of the Loire as General of Brigade of the cavalry at Blois. His poor wife wrote of the "cry of joy" with which he opened and read the dispatch which sent him *as he believed*, to his death; for in more than one of his farewell letters to



his friends he repeated that conviction. "I know that by joining the Army of the Loire I am going to my death." Events proved that this conviction was a mistaken one; but not the less may the sacrifice in intention have been accepted; and, truly, the physical suffering and life-long mutilation which were to be his share in the national expiation were surely more painful to him than death itself.

When de Sonis arrived at Tours, where the provisional government had established itself during the siege of Paris, he at once learned, by practical experience, the almost incredible state of confusion into which the entire French army had fallen. One day he was informed that he was to command the 1st Brigade of the 17th Army Corps; the next day this order was contradicted, and an entire division was confided to him; then no one could tell him where his brigade was to be found; and then again he was desired to collect some scattered regiments, of some of which no tidings could be heard. Then one general ordered him to repair to Fretteval, while another desired him to go at once to Dreux! Finally, telegraphing to the War Minister for orders, "Who is to command the troops around Chateaudun?" the answer given was "Yourself!" This, as it happened, was a territorial command, and de Sonis being a cavalry man, was not altogether suited to his capacities, his general forte being the quick, light, skirmishing action, which had won for him his laurels in Algeria. As general of a division, in which position he was presently officially confirmed, he held a very responsible post, and soon found the men under his orders to be a different and very inferior class to those he had commanded in Algeria. The only portion of them on whom he could thoroughly rely were the small body of Pontifical Zouaves, who, under their gallant Colonel, de Charette, had volunteered their services for the defence of their country, and now formed part of the "Army of the West," to which he was appointed general; and the discovery that he was to be privileged to command them, came to him as the one bright spot in a very dark and troubled moment.

On receiving his command he wrote to Colonel de Charette, whom as yet he had never met, but whose name was dear to his, as to every Catholic heart in France and elsewhere as the synonym for chivalrous and devoted loyalty to the Holy See, the following cordial greeting:

"MY DEAR COLONEL:

"I have known you for a long time, for no Christian heart is ignorant of your name. When I arrived last night at Chateaudun, I hoped to go and see you to-day, and I had asked one of your young zouaves for your address. But I am obliged to stand with my division. Before leaving the neighborhood, however, I wish to

salute your fine and heroic troops in the person of its admirable head, and to tell you that I venerate all that you revere, and that I love all that you love. In these sad times, it is a consolation to die amidst brave men like you, and to feel that God has not quite abandoned France, since He has given her such noble sons. Adieu, my dear Colonel! I place my hand in yours, and beg of you to let us share together our prayers and our sacrifices.

"Your devoted servant,

"DE SONIS."

A day or two after his appointment, he found himself in a position to begin operations, and made an attack on the Prussian troops near Marboué, where he was stationed, which led to a successful engagement, afterwards called the battle of Brou. He then fortified Chateaudun, and was preparing to attack the enemy a second time, when, to his immense regret, he received orders from Tours to retreat. Some days later General d'Aurelle, his superior, directed him to effect a junction with Chanzy's division, and, accordingly, he set forth with his army corps on a long and painful march over ice and snow, the unfortunate men almost barefoot (for the convoy bringing new shoes had missed them *en route*), and their suffering from cold was very great. During the long night's march, de Sonis, de Charette and Péré Doussot, a Dominican, chaplain to the Pontifical Zouaves, walked arm in arm together, conversing, as they went, of divine things, like the Christian warriors of old. The two officers had dismounted from their horses to warm themselves by walking, and as they talked they forgot the perils and privations of the moment in burning zeal for the cause of God. Presently the conversation turned upon their country, and they spoke sadly of her state, and of its only remedy, the becoming once more a truly Christian land. M. de Sonis pointed out to them the flag he had adopted, a white cross on a blue ground, and de Charette objected that it was not distinctively religious, and offered him a magnificent banner which he had now at his disposal, one that had been embroidered by the nuns of the Visitation at Paray le Monial, the cradle of the devotion to the Sacred Heart, and destined for the city of Paris, which being besieged, and therefore unattainable, they had sent to the "Volunteers of the West," or Pontifical Zouaves.

General de Sonis gladly accepted the proffered flag, and that same night, when halting for a brief rest within an old chateau within their line of march, as he and his staff were gathered round a huge fire in the hall eating some bread and sausage which they had obtained with difficulty, M. de Charette entered, accompanied by one of his young zouaves, Count Henri de Verthamon by name, and presented him to de Sonis. "General," he said, "here is the bearer of your new colors, and here is the banner." So saying, he unrolled a magnificent banner in white moiré silk, embroidered

with gold, having in its centre the Sacred Heart in crimson velvet, with the words: "Cœur de Jesus, sauves la France!"

"Colonel," replied de Sonis, "I thank you heartily. You have offered me these colors, and now it is I that give them to you for your regiment. May they be borne before you, for you richly deserve it."

One of the officers standing near suggested that on account of the irreligious spirit prevailing in the army, it might be well to wait until the cannon was heard before displaying the new banner, "for then," he added, "no one is inclined to laugh." The general agreed, and confided the flag to its young bearer until the moment of danger, which, as they all felt, could not be far distant. Such was the origin of the blood-stained banner of the Zouaves, which, seventeen years later, covered his own mortal remains in the Church of Loigny.

It may, perhaps, not be amiss here to remind our readers of the origin and object of that unique band of volunteers, the French portion of which were now serving their country in the "Army of the West," under the command of General de Sonis. Not long before their picturesque, gray, scarlet-bordered jackets and loose zouave trousers, with the jaunty little *képi* which surmounted them, had been seen in every princely palace and dainty boudoir in Papal Rome. English-speaking visitors, new to the place, were amazed to see—here a grizzled old corporal, there a boyish private, mingling gayly with the festive throng, and here whirling round a ball room, there cavaliering a bevy of fair damsels in most bewildering and un-private-like fashion.

In truth it was no commonplace regiment, this corps of Papal soldiers, who were called the "Pontifical Zouaves." Recruited, in part, from two disbanded regiments of volunteers called the "Irish Brigade" and the "Franco-Belge," which had been instituted during the troublous times of Pius IX.'s early pontificate for the defence of the Holy See, this re-formed regiment of "Pontifical Zouaves" soon drew to its ranks the élite of Catholic youth in France and elsewhere. Many, if not most, of the noblest families in France, the *crème de la crème* of *vielle noblesse*, sent representatives of their name to serve as common soldiers in the army of the Pope. Men of the oldest blood in England and Ireland left home and occupation and kindred to take up their quarters in the rough barrack-rooms of the Serrestori, the Sora, or the San Calisto, and exchanged the luxuries of an English home for a soldier's scanty ration and their "three baiocchi (or sous) a day" pay, and to be stigmatized meanwhile by their English contemporaries as "Papal mercenaries" and "cut-throats of the Vatican!" Almost all ranks were represented there side by side—from a royal Spanish



prince, the bluest blood in Europe, to a handful of peasants from the dykes of Holland. In time of peace each sought and found his social level; at the moment of action each stood shoulder to shoulder for one common cause. It was emphatically a corps of honor. No mercenary motive, no forced service, no unwilling presence found its place within their ranks. It was the hour of danger that was longed for, the place of peril that was sought for by each eager young heart that beat high above the scarlet, powder-grimed sash of the zouave when "their heroic conduct," as a recent writer describes it, "in all the combats which they took part in for the defence of the Pontifical States gave rise to immense enthusiasm, especially in view of the apathy of all Europe, which allowed Italy to second the aggressions of Garibaldi."

For some eight or nine years, then, this little band held and defended Rome, from time to time sallying forth to attack the subtle and evasive enemy which harrassed them by a continual guerilla warfare without the gates. Their most glorious moment, the culminating point in their career, was the battle of Mentana, the true story of which has been so widely misrepresented that it may be worth while to briefly sketch it here. The Pontifical army, some three thousand men, led by their commander-in-chief, General Kanzler, and reinforced by about two thousand French soldiers, forming the rear-guard, marched out, on the morning of November 3, 1867, to dislodge Garibaldi and his followers from a position which they had taken up at Monte Rotondo. They arrived towards midday, at a distance of four kilometers from the village of Mentana, and were attacked in a hollow road by the Garibaldians, who lay in ambush on the wooded slopes along their line of march. The combat lasted until night, the Pontifical army chasing the Garibaldians into Mentana, where they retired behind strong barricades which defended the approach to it. On the following day the Garibaldians surrendered, estimating their own losses at something like 1200 men disabled, while the Pontifical troops had 40 killed and 100 wounded, and their French allies 3 killed and 40 wounded. Garibaldi himself quitted the field early in the day, his "only talent," according to a contemporary writer, being "to know how to fly; or, if one prefers the expression, to fall back in good order."

From this time until 1870 the Zouaves and French troops conjointly kept order in Papal Rome, and, as all the world knows, the evacuation of the Leonine city by its French defenders proved the signal for an "Italian" army to force an entrance there. General Kanzler's noble little army, with brave old Colonel Alet and the dashing de Charette, who was the Bayard of the troop, the daring, chivalrous, prominent leader in every skirmish and fray,

was forced to yield, not only to overwhelming numbers, but to their Pope-King's express command that useless blood—when once a breach had been made in the city walls—should not be shed. The zouaves of all nations, insulted, wounded, imprisoned, returned sadly to their homes. Charette and his countrymen re-entered France, to defend her invaded territory, under the title of *Volunteers of the West*.

And now to return to de Sonis and de Charette on the fatal morning of Patay. At two o'clock A.M., de Sonis, who had remained up throughout the night, awakened his friends, de Charette and de Brouelle, and the three repaired to the village church. Here they and many of their comrades heard Mass; the Mass of the Sacred Heart, for it was the first Friday of the month. De Sonis received Holy Communion as usual, so also did several others, and it was afterwards remarked that *every one of these* ere night-fall that day was either dead or wounded on the battlefield. It was their viaticum !

The division then set forth upon their march at four o'clock A.M. De Sonis had under his command the artillery reserve, the Pontifical Zouaves and the Mobiles of the Côtes-du-Nord. At 6.30 they arrived at Patay, where the forces which he had been directed to reinforce were stationed, and de Sonis begged General Chanzy, who was in command, to spare them a few hours rest as they were overdone. His request was granted but the respite was brief, for at half-past eleven a note came from Chanzy, "We are hard pressed at Loigny, come to our aid!" So they went. "Hardly had we started," he wrote, "when we met a multitude of carts and ambulances full of wounded, then a number of mobiles of the Tenth Corps, who, leaving their ranks in groups of five or six, were escaping from the battlefield. I was exasperated at the sight, and tried to encourage those who passed near us, but without success. They were too numerous, and the impression on my own troops was very bad." As soon as they arrived upon the scene, Chanzy at once requested de Sonis to take his place, and, to the latter's dismay, the whole of Chanzy's division at once retreated, leaving the newcomers, a mere handful of troupes, to their fate! Aided by the artillery, who behaved admirably, de Sonis sustained the enemy's attack and was about to assume the offensive, when he saw a sudden movement among his troops and some one cried, "The centre is retreating!" With one bound of his horse de Sonis was in the midst of them, urging, arguing, imploring, but all in vain. "My words were powerless," he wrote afterwards in his official report to the Minister of War, "and these unhappy regiments went on retreating, without my being able to understand what had caused their panic. I was thoroughly indignant, and threatened to blow

out the brains of the soldiers before me. I cried again, 'You are cowards; you dishonor us; you are unworthy the name of Frenchmen. I will report the number of your regiment!' The Spahis of my escort beat the men as they fled with the flat of their swords to try and bring them back to their duty. They bore this last outrage, but without advancing a step. Then I exclaimed, 'Well if you do not know how to die for your country, I will have the colors brought out. Try and follow them!' Upon which I galloped back to my artillery reserve, where I had placed my zouaves, and cried to Charette: 'Colonel, give me one of your battalions?' There were two. Then, addressing these brave zouaves, I said, 'There are some cowards down there who refuse to march, and who will ruin the whole army. Try and bring them back to their duty! Forward! Follow me! Let us show them the worth of men of heart and Christians!' A cry of enthusiasm burst from these noble hearts. These brave fellows surrounded me, and all were ready to face death. I took three hundred of them, leaving the rest to guard the artillery. The battallion started, accompanied by the Franco-tireurs of Tours and Blidah, the mobiles of the Côtes-du-Nord, preceded by a line of skirmishers, in all 800 men.

"It was half-past four and the day was closing in. I said to Charette, 'This is the moment to show our banner of the Sacred Heart.' It was unfurled and seen by the whole army. The effect was electric. We marched on confidently, filled with a strong sense of duty. I always hoped the Third Division would join us and support our position, and I did not doubt that the brave handful of men who accompanied me would stop the troops who were retreating and bring them back to their duty. When we arrived opposite the Fifty-first Regiment I exclaimed, 'Soldiers, here are your colors! Follow them! Forward!' But not a man moved. Shaking my *képi* in my left hand and brandishing my sword in my right, I said, 'Have you no heart? March!' They did not stir, and our zouaves went on. On my right was Colonel de Charette, my left commander de Troussures. This last, seizing my arm, exclaimed, 'My dear general, how good you are to lead us to such a fête! Noble soul!' They were his last words. At that moment there was such an enthusiasm among my little body of men, that it shamed the regiments who had refused to move, and they began to march forward, which gave me some hope. Before the rapid firing of my zouaves, the Germans retreated from the farm of Villours which they had occupied all the morning. But when we were opposite a little wood, at 200 meters from the village, we were met by a furious musketry fire which laid many of our poor fellows low, never to rise again. This was



enough for the Fifty-first, whom I had with difficulty persuaded to follow us. They fled, and in a few minutes disappeared altogether. I remained at the head of the brave Pontifical Zouaves, who made an heroic resistance. The Third Division, which I had ordered to join us, never appeared, and, except the troops of Admiral Zangui-berry, who still held Villeyrion, I had no news of the Sixteenth corps. What was I to do? I could not do so dishonorable an act as to abandon those three hundred zouaves who had so heroically followed me, and I felt ready to sacrifice my life with theirs. They called themselves soldiers of the Pope, and I thought it would be worth while to die under our new colors. All together we cried 'Vive la France! Vive Pie IX!' This was our last act of faith. I had, it was true, only intended to take these three hundred men in order to produce a moral effect on the demoralized regiments who had deserted us. Of three hundred, one hundred and ninety-eight fell by my side at Loigny, and among them ten out of the fourteen officers who commanded them. I was myself wounded by a ball in the thigh, and could no longer sit on my horse. I cried to my aide-de-camp, Captain de Bruyère, 'Take me in your arms. I am done for, for to-day.' He laid me on the ground helped by M. de Harcourt, lieutenant of the zouaves. I then told M. de Bruyère to leave me, and to tell the oldest commanding officer to take my place and direct the retreat. At that moment I had the consolation of hearing all my artillery behind me; and I am happy in winding up this report to be able to bear witness that the Seventeenth Corps did not lose a single cannon during the time I had the honor of commanding it."

So de Sonis lay where they had laid him, wounded and bleeding, upon the field of battle; while the heroic little band of zouaves and volunteers swept onwards at the charge, mowed down by grape-shot as they advanced, yet nothing daunted, and finally reached the village of Loigny, where they hoped to be able to reinforce the thirty-seventh regiment, which still held one side of the village. Unfortunate yet happy Loigny! The battle raged round it fiercely, and it can now claim the touching honor of having been the only resting-place over which has ever waved in warfare the banner of the Sacred Heart. For one brief moment the zouaves hoped to reach their hard-pressed countrymen; they succeeded in gaining a footing at one end of the village, taking the first house by assault, but the shells of the enemy had lit a barrier of flame between them and the gallant little band they tried to save, and they were driven back by a line of blazing houses, while the thirty-seventh fell, man after man, in the churchyard where they made their stand, until their last drop of blood was shed for France. The Dominican Father, Pere Doussot, who that morning had cele-

brated the Mass of the Sacred Heart in the presence of de Sonis, de Charette, and all the Pontifical Zouaves, met one of them, as the battle ended, bearing away their precious flag. It had fallen from the dying hands of its bearer, M de Verthamont, into those of M. Bouillé, who when dying passed it to his son. Both father and son were killed, and young le Parmentier, who was himself wounded, seized and bore it away. The priest took it from him, wrapped its blood-stained folds in a handkerchief, and carried it, under his cassock, to a place of safety.

All that night de Sonis lay among the wounded, on the hard, frosty ground. A long and fearful night, filled with the cries and groans of the agonizing, with their pitiful calls for "help" and "ambulance" which fell but on ears more helpless than their own; while dying boys gasped out prayers for "water" until they stiffened beneath the bitter, freezing cold, which, as night came on, added its rigors to the rest. Far in the distance, yet painfully within earshot, rang the laughter and gay carousing of the Prussian troops as they jested and sang round their bivouac fires; and at length the softly falling snow covered and shrouded some, at least, among the ghastly sights of which human mercy recked not. In hourly expectation of death, and racked by the torture of a shattered limb—for his leg, as was afterwards discovered, was actually broken in no less than twenty-five places—de Sonis afterwards declared that he had hardly felt his sufferings, so wondrous were the spiritual consolations he received from our Lady of Lourdes, to whose shrine he had lately made a pilgrimage, and who, as he avowed in after years, made her presence known to him in some mysterious supernatural visitation while he lay all that long night through upon the battlefield.

When the search for the wounded began next morning, the almost dying General was recognized and conveyed with much difficulty to the presbytery of Loigny, where his leg was amputated, and "for forty-five days afterwards I suffered enough to drive a man wild." The wounded, numbering some 2000, were heaped together in church and presbytery, without provisions, without any kind of comforts—de Sonis says himself that for the first three days he had nothing but water and snow with which to quench his thirst—and were in fact almost starved to death. His wife, who had telegraphed to the Minister of War for news of her husband and received the erroneous information that he was "wounded and a prisoner," set off on a long and weary journey to find him, and after nineteen days of incessant travelling, she found her beloved husband in a terrible state of illness and exhaustion, racked by agonizing pain which the doctors were unable to mitigate or relieve. "She passed three months sleeping on the floor by my

side, in a little room full of blood and of arms and legs which had been amputated," was his own description of the period which followed. Many who were tending their own beloved ones bore witness to the heroic patience with which this truly Christian soldier bore his sufferings. They called him, among themselves, "the holy martyr of Loigny," and would repair to his bedside again and again to learn from his lips the lessons of patience, fervor, and courage, which every word, every movement, breathed in fullest measure. Colonel de Charette, who had also been wounded during the engagement, would hobble daily to his friend's bedside, and talk for hours at a time, remarking afterwards: "It is impossible to spend a quarter of an hour with M. de Sonis without coming away a better soldier and a better Christian."

By slow degrees he recovered health, and was able to rejoin his children, the younger of whom had been left at Limoges, while the three elder, all, like their father, in the army, were taking part in the campaigns with their various regiments. As soon as he was well enough, he made a pilgrimage of thanksgiving to our Lady of Lourdes, and laid at her feet his newly worn Cross of the Legion of Honor, in grateful memory of her presence and consolation during those long hours of lonely suffering on the battlefield of Patay. His Carmelite director, who knew the secrets of his soul, afterwards testified to the "extraordinary favors" shown him on that night by the Blessed Virgin, consolations so great that he lost all sense of pain: "I only began to suffer again when men tried to help me." Nor did his thanksgiving end here. Every year, until ill-health prevented it, he passed the anniversary night of that terrible second of December at the foot of the Tabernacle. "He always arrived that evening," wrote one of the Carmelite Fathers, who directed the Tertiary Association in which de Sonis never failed to take part, "just as we were closing the doors of the church. I used to hear his confession, and then, when all the monks had gone to their cells, he remained alone all night before the Tabernacle. The next morning very early I said a Mass of Thanksgiving for him, at which he went to communion; and when the doors opened to let in the usual congregation, he would slip out to his own house."

A Jesuit Father, then rector of the house at Paris, has left a still more detailed account of one of these visits: "One winter's night, while I was sitting at the table which had belonged to Père Ducondray, one of the martyrs of the Commune, I heard some one coming up the stairs. His step was an unusual one, and I recognized that it must be some one with a wooden leg. It was General de Sonis; but I had never seen him before. 'Father,' he said, 'I come to ask your leave to pass this night in your chapel before



the Blessed Sacrament.' Seeing that I was both surprised and touched at this request, he added, laughing, 'Oh, you must not fancy me better than I am. I am paying a debt, that is all. I passed, last year, this very night of the 2d December, stretched on the snow between life and death, and much nearer the latter than the former; and it is God alone Who saved me. I owe Him at least the night when He saved my life. I ought to have answered the appeal of Charette to go to-day to Loigny; but I am a member of the Cavalry Commission, and am obliged to be in my place to-morrow. I know that you love the Pontifical Zouaves, and that you sheltered them at Mans, while their banner of the Sacred Heart was kept there several weeks before it became my standard. That is why I have preferred to come to you; and also, because martyrs lived here,' he added, looking at the picture of Père Ducondray over the chimney-piece. At that moment the bell for Vespers rang, and the general asked leave to assist at it. Hearing them sung by those three hundred and fifty young voices, tears came into his eyes. 'Oh, how beautiful that is! It reminds me of my zouaves,' he exclaimed, as he came out, and pressed my hand. At my entreaty, he then told us of the terrible night he had passed on the battlefield of Loigny. 'There,' he said, 'I made the vow to the Sacred Heart which I am come to fulfil this evening.' After that, he begged me to let him haste to the chapel, where he passed the night. The next morning he went to communion at the first Mass, and when I asked him if he were not tired, he replied, 'Tired! after one night's watch!' When nine o'clock struck, he started for his military commission."

Colonel de Charette, who, on peace being proclaimed, was obliged to disband his faithful little following of ex-Pontifical Zouaves, at Rennes, would not do so until he had consecrated them solemnly to the Sacred Heart, in a touching little ceremony which took place on Whitsunday; and the prayer of "consecration" was written for the occasion by de Sonis, who, on account of his health, could not be present in person. As a mark of admiration and respect, his name was about this time proposed as a deputy for the department of Tarn, but his openly avowed monarchical principles (he was a warm personal friend, as well as adherent, of the Comte de Chambord) proved too much for his constituents, though no less than 22,324 votes were recorded in his favor, which, as he said himself, was "a sufficient honor and compensation."

At the official inquiry which took place as soon as public affairs were sufficiently tranquil to permit such a commission to act, he gave a detailed account of his share in the events of the campaign, and was heartily complimented thereon, while his "chieftain," the exiled Comte de Chambord, wrote warmly in the same strain, ex-

pressing his admiration for de Sonis's "heroic conduct." When his sick-leave expired, and he was once more able to mount his horse, the good general was named Commandant of the Sixteenth Division, at Rennes, and took up his post there in November, 1871. Here he remained for about two years, leading the same simple, devout, edifying life as before the war, with the additional cross of an almost continual state of bodily suffering. For the wound in his amputated leg was continually irritated and reopened by the horse-exercise which his position obliged him to take and by fresh illnesses; at one time a fractured leg which kept him in bed for two months, at another, a broken bone in the hip, at length succeeded in permanently undermining his health. Still, he clung on firmly to his post; not only for love of his profession, but also, because it was the only means of support for his numerous family (twelve children, ten of whom were living) he having no private means whatever to supplement his pay. The cross of poverty had always been a very present one with him, and towards the end of his life it seemed to press even more heavily, for he was called upon by his enlightened conscience to resign his post while still strong enough for work, when the time of persecution came, in which the army having been called upon to execute certain ministerial decrees against the religious orders, de Sonis refused all participation in the shameful task, and resolved "not to tender, but to sheathe, his sword."

For some months the de Sonis family lived very humbly in a wretched little lodging at Chateauroux, while his companions in arms were, in some instances at least, engaged in the ignoble work of hunting and ejecting from their holy retirement the Carmelites, the Capuchins, the Christian Brothers, and many others. But although he was too good a Christian to be popular with "the powers that be," they hardly dared to put him altogether aside; so he was gradually shelved by appointments which left him in obscurity, and made his military position a merely nominal one; in posts "where those are placed whom the government mistrusts."

The death of the Comte de Chambord, whom he looked upon as France's rightful sovereign, affected him deeply; for he lost in him both a political chief and a personal friend. "A dark veil seems to cover the whole world," he wrote, "and since the death of my much-loved king, it seems to me there is nothing left to expect. The years pass by, and I feel that death is at hand." These words were penned in January, 1884, and during all that year the "dark veil" of physical suffering and mental preparation for his last hour, overshadowed every other thought. But it was a very lingering preparation—perhaps, as has been desired by so many holy souls, a foretaste of Purgatory here below, to quicken his

bliss hereafter. One of his priestly visitors described "this holy man in the fullest possession of his intelligence, . . . in a mutilated body, cast aside as a useless instrument"; a body crucified, not only with unceasing physical pain, inflammatory neuralgia, reopening wounds, attacks of agonizing suffering, which could only be relieved by injections of morphine, but further multiplied by many secret acts and even instruments of penance.

At last, during the first days of August, 1887, the suffering of years culminated in an attack of fever, which speedily undermined his strength. On Sunday, the eve of the Assumption, he rose as usual, confessed, and had Holy Communion brought to him; the day passed, much as other days, calm and peaceful; but on the following morning, the feast of the Assumption, a feeling of suffocation came on, and in a short time he had entered his last agony. It was a long and painful one. His wife sat beside him, holding his hand in hers; a Carmelite father, one of his own beloved Order, anointed him and remained with him to the end; and at two o'clock in the afternoon, Gaston de Sonis breathed his last at the foot of the crucifix.

A monument has since been erected, on the battlefield at Loigny, inscribed with suitable inscriptions in commemoration of the long night of agony passed there by General de Sonis. It is superscribed with the words in which his career may most fittingly be described:

"Miles Christi."

T. L. L. TEELING.

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## Scientific Chronicle.

### OIL.

THE WORD.—Digging among the roots we find the Aryan “RI,” which means *to pour, to distill, to melt, to flow*, etc. . . . The Sanskrit has the same form with the same general meanings. From this we have the Latin, “*rivus*,” *a stream, a brook*; and “*rivalis*,” appertaining to a brook; and from this again the English substantive “rival,” “*one who uses the same brook as another*,” or a near neighbor; and as neighbors who live on opposite sides of the same brook are liable to have competing, if not conflicting, interests, the word “rival” in the course of time took on the meaning of “competitor.”

But our readers will probably ask with open-eyed wonder: “What has this to do with Oil?” Apparently not much, but really perhaps a good deal; for RI means, *to flow*, and *oil flows*; but if we had no better foundation than this, it would be slippery indeed. Let us look a little further. There are lots of Aryan roots in which a more primitive “R” became later on an “L”; thus we have GAR or GAL, *to fall*; TAR or TAL, *to lift*; DAR or DAL, *to see*; PAR or PAL, *to fill*; MAR or MAL, *to grind*; RUK or LUK, *to shine*; etc. In this last word we get a glimpse of “*lux*,” “*light*.” These and similar words have left their traces in the Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, and through them in many other languages.

Now, how did this substitution of L for R come about? Was it perhaps because some of the Aryans “developed a difficulty” in pronouncing the R, and so changed it to L? We have a well-known, but ever funny, example of this difficulty among the Chinese, who say “Melican” for “American,” and “belly” for “very.” Yet this is hardly enough, and we feel constrained to answer reluctantly—by “doubtful.”

Anyhow, the original RI did become LI, and when the Greeks got a hold on LI they prefixed a vowel, a practice which they seemed to take special delight in; they next changed the I to *ai* and added a tail-piece to steer by, so that from a simple LI they got *ἐλαῖον* (*elaïon*), *oil*, because it *flows*, and *ἐλαία* (*elaïa*), the tree, and the fruit which gives oil, *i.e.*, the Olive. Others however think that the derivation refers to the fact that olive trees were planted at the goal, or the end of the *run*. Be this as it may, by changes of termination, other words innumerable were formed, but all preserving some shadow of the original meaning.

From the Greek “*elaïa*” to the Latin “*olea*” (olive tree and fruit), the road was smooth and easy. From this the Latins again, by a process of their own, manufactured the word “*oliva*,” with exactly the same signification, and from this in turn we have our beautiful word

"olive." From "elaïon" the Romans very naturally arrived at "oleum," and from this *we* just as naturally obtained "oil." Starting with the same LI, and adding a little here, and twisting a little there, we finally obtain such words as *liquid, liniment, lineament, letter*, etc. . . . From old RI, therefore, after ages of meanderings, we get, at last, both "oil" and "olive," besides other things too numerous to catalogue.

THE THING.—Having thus obtained a solid foundation on which to build, we turn to the thing itself. What is oil? It is not easy to give a definition that will fit in all cases "exactly like the paper on the wall." In ancient times, when things were necessarily defined by their most striking physical characteristics, the name "oil" was applied to almost every liquid that flowed with a certain visible viscosity, or stickiness, and in common language the word "oil" has stuck to several substances which the chemist does not recognize as oils at all, chief among which is "oil of vitrol," or sulphuric acid.

Leaving this and any other possible, wrongly-named things out of account, the "United States Dispensatory" defines oils as, "Liquid or solid substances, unctuous to the touch, and characterized by inflammability, and the property of making a greasy stain upon paper." This definition includes *fats* as well as what are commonly called oils. With this there is no fault to be found, for, a moderate rise in temperature will convert any solid fat into a liquid, in which condition it in no wise differs from an oil. But in some other respects the definition appears defective, for it supposes that we know what "unctuous" and "greasy" mean, and yet it would be very hard to define either of these two words without falling back on "oil," or "oily." Now about this method of defining a thing by itself, the man of logic is liable to raise a good deal of fuss; and "we don't want to have any scenes." What makes this definition worse yet, if possible, is that it is meant to include the *volatile* as well as the *fixed* oils; for the "Dispensatory" in the very next sentence says: "They (the oils) are divided into two classes, the fixed and the volatile, because distinguished, as their names imply, most readily by their different behavior on the application of heat." That is, upon the application of heat, the fixed oils decompose before evaporating, while the volatile oils evaporate without decomposing. Now the volatile oils are not in the least "unctuous to the touch," neither do they make a "greasy stain upon paper." *Ergo*. . . .

We respect the "Dispensatory" and believe that, on second thought, it could do better, but the example shows how very difficult it is to concoct a good, off-hand, definition of even the most ordinary things.

The "Century Dictionary" wisely refrains from attempting to bring fixed and volatile oils under the same definition. The former it defines as "Neutral bodies" (that is, bodies containing neither free acid or free alkali; and so far it is correct); "having an unctuous feel," yes, yes, but again, what is "unctuous?" Worcester says it means "fat," "oily," "greasy," and so we are landed back again at the starting-point; "of a viscous consistence," we do know what that means, and agree with the remark: "lighter than water," correct; "insoluble in water," *about*

right; "soluble in alcohol," this is somewhat misleading, for with the exception of castor and croton oil they are only slightly soluble in cold, and not very much more so even in boiling alcohol; "soluble in ether" all right, but it would have been well to add, "in chloroform, benzine, bisulphide of carbon, spirits of turpentine, etc." . . .

The reason why many definitions fail to define is probably because they do not go deep enough, but content themselves with merely scratching the surface and trusting to little more than outside appearances. For this reason we think the chemist ought to be better able to give a definition in these matters than anybody else. Since we do not intend to treat of "volatile oils" in this article, we shall not ask him to include them. Let us see, therefore, how a chemist would define a "fixed oil." He says:

"A fixed oil is a mixture (solid or liquid) of two or more glycerides."

There it is, short, neat and convenient, and as crisp as a Saratoga chip. It is better than most witnesses in court, for it "tells the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth." Here, however, we shall probably be accused of shifting the difficulty without solving it. How? Why by introducing that horrid unknown word "glycerides." But dear reader, do you really not know what glycerides are? Honor bright now! They have existed for ages, and you have been using them daily, if not for ages, at least for all your born days. If, however, in very deed you do not know, just gird up your loins for a few moments and it shall be explained unto you.

A glyceride is a compound consisting of a saponifiable organic acid and glycerine. An organic acid is one which belongs to the vegetable or animal kingdom in contradistinction to one that belongs properly to the mineral kingdom. A saponifiable acid is an acid which will unite with an alkali (potash, soda, ammonia, etc.) to form soap. One of the usual marks of these acids is that they contain a much larger percentage of carbon and hydrogen, and a much smaller percentage of oxygen than do the other acids. For example:

Stearic acid (saponifiable) is composed of:

	Per cent.
Carbon, . . . . .	76
Hydrogen, . . . . .	12 $\frac{2}{3}$
Oxygen, . . . . .	11 $\frac{1}{3}$

Oxalic acid (not saponifiable) is composed of:

	Per cent.
Carbon, . . . . .	26 $\frac{2}{3}$
Hydrogen, . . . . .	2 $\frac{2}{9}$
Oxygen, . . . . .	71 $\frac{1}{9}$

Any acid which will unite with glycerine is considered a saponifiable acid.

Glycerine next demands attention. It is a tri-atomic alcohol. Most people imagine they know about all that is worth knowing about alcohol, but we still think a word of explanation is needed here. Let us start



with the perfectly definite compound, each molecule of which consists of two atoms of carbon and six atoms of hydrogen. To save time, paper and ink, and to make it more compact, the chemist writes it thus,  $C_2H_6$ , and for occult reasons of his own calls it "Ethane." Now if in this compound we replace one of the atoms of hydrogen by an atom of chlorine, we evidently shall get  $C_2H_5Cl$ , and this is called ethyl chloride. Let us now make another substitution by putting the radical (HO) instead of the Cl; the result will be  $C_2H_5(HO)$ . This is a molecule of ethyl alcohol, the common alcohol which men and women do drink, mixed with water. It is called a mon-atomic alcohol (*monos, alone or one*), not because men usually drink alone but because the compound is formed, as we have just said, by replacing *one* atom of Cl by the equivalent HO.

In like manner, from the same  $C_2H_6$  by replacing *two* of the atoms of hydrogen by *two* of chlorine, we obtain  $C_2H_4Cl_2$ , or ethylenedichloride. And if we replace the *two* chlorine atoms of this compound by *two* (HO), we have  $C_2H_4(HO)_2$ , a diatomic alcohol called glycol.

Once again, given  $C_3H_8$  (propane), we can change it to  $C_3H_5Cl_3$  (propenyl chloride), and this finally to  $C_3H_5(HO)_3$ , a triatomic alcohol. This is our glycerine about which we have been so anxious. There is a long list of monatomic and diatomic alcohols, but glycerine is the only triatomic alcohol discovered up to date.

This gets us down to the elementary or atomic definition of oil, and with that we ought to be satisfied. We know what glycerine is, we know what a saponifiable acid is, and consequently we know what a glyceride is; and therefore we know the real meaning of "fixed oil." Ultimately, fixed oils are all compounds, in different proportions, of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen, and of nothing else. The number of well-defined glycerides is very large, but, not only through fear, but also for conscience sake, we shall refrain from inflicting a catalogue of them on our readers. A few will be mentioned in spots where they naturally belong. However, we might as well say right here, once for all, that they are named from their acids. Thus, palmitin is the glyceride of palmitic acid; olein, the glyceride of oleic acid, etc. This half-lesson in chemistry, like oysters on the half-shell, will probably be enough to begin with; so we shall leave it and turn to another phase of our subject.

PHYSICAL PROPERTIES OF OILS.—The fluid oils vary much in viscosity. If we take water as the standard of comparison, and call its viscosity unity, then the viscosity of weld oil will be 8, that of olive oil 31, and that of castor oil 203. On account of their viscosity, fixed oils have the valuable property, under certain conditions, of hindering waves from breaking, and hence the expression, "*to pour oil on the troubled waters*," is not a vain metaphorical one.

The solid oils vary in hardness from the semi fluid butter of the summer boarding-house, to the dignified consistence of palm oil, which is almost as hard as wax.

Taking again wax as the unit, the density of oils (solid fats included) runs from .9000 (cacao butter), to .9667 (castor oil). Their odor, taste, and color will be noticed as we go on.

On account of their unctuous properties they are frequently used in medicine to allay inflammations, and it is a well-established fact that in ancient times a mixture of "oil and wine" was employed in dressing wounds; so that after all, even if the Good Samaritan was not a regular practitioner, he at least knew what he was about.

**SOURCES OF OILS (AND FATS)—A. Vegetable Sources.**—The fixed oils occur ready formed, as droplets, each enveloped in a separate sac or cell, in many species of plants all over the world. Sometimes they are found in the seeds, sometimes in the wood, or in the bark, or root. Often in the kernel, or in the rind, and occasionally in the fleshy part of the fruit, and not unfrequently in several parts of the plant at the same time. There are more than a hundred species of plants from which oil is extracted for industrial purposes. We shall mention some of the more important further on. The percentage of oil, especially in seeds, is in inverse ratio to that of the sugar and starch which they contain. In Brazil nuts, from 60 to 67 per cent. of the total weight is oil; in barley, it is only from 1 to 1½ per cent.; between these extremes every possible variation is to be found.

**B. Animal Sources.**—In all animals, from the whale to the mosquito, and in almost all the tissues and organs of every animal, oil (or fat) is present; and, just as in the case of vegetable oils, each little droplet is enclosed in its own envelope. The amount depends of course on the nature as well as on the size of the animal, but yet it is said that there have been men mean enough to butcher and skin a flea for the sake of its fat.

An average percentage for the different parts of an animal, is given as follows:

	Per cent.
Bone-marrow, . . . . .	96.00
Fat tissue, . . . . .	82.70
Spinal marrow, . . . . .	23.60
Brain, . . . . .	20.00
Eggs (hen's) (yolk), . . . . .	11.50
Milk, . . . . .	4.50
Bones, . . . . .	1.50
Blood, , . . . . .	0.40
Saliva, . . . . .	0.02
Sweat, . . . . .	0.001

Hair, the color of which depends on the color of the oil which it contains, should also have been included in the list; but the value of that oil is æsthetic rather than commercial.

**CLASSIFICATION OF OILS AND FATS.**—A natural classification of oils and fats would, at least, at first sight, appear to be, to arrange them under the heads of vegetable and animal oils; but since the properties of the two are in many cases very nearly alike, this division has been found of little value. Various other attempts have been made, but none of them have reached any very astonishing success. Classifications for different purposes must necessarily be made from different stand-points. Perhaps, as an attempt at an all-round classification, the one given in the

United States Dispensatory is as good as any. In it the oils are divided into nine groups, the division depending partly on the physical, partly on the chemical properties, and partly on the sources of the oils. We have adopted this classification, taking however the liberty of transposing the Groups VII. and VIII.

GROUP I.—OLIVE OIL GROUP. (Vegetable Non-drying Oils.)

The oils of this group always retain their property of producing a greasy stain on paper, however long they may have been exposed to the air, but they become solid on treatment with nitrous acid. This method of testing oils is called the "elaïdīn" test. The density of these oils varies from .912 to about .920. Their "fluidity," which is the opposite of "viscosity," is less than that of the "drying" oils. The principal members of this group are the following:

A. *Olive Oil*.—(Sweet oil or Salad oil.) The olive tree, from the fruit of which this oil is obtained, is a native of Syria and of other countries of Asia. In its wild state it is a thorny shrub, or at most a small tree (the Oleaster); but under cultivation it loses its thorns and attains the dignity of a tree, from 20 to 40 feet in height. It has been extensively cultivated for unknown ages in all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, as far south as Cairo in Egypt, and as far north as the middle of France. It has been introduced into the United States, and is now doing a thriving business in California. It is propagated from "cuttings," and begins to bear fruit after the second year. It is in full bearing at the age of six years, and under proper treatment will continue to produce fruit profitably for more than a century.

The wood of the olive is very hard, and takes a beautiful polish, showing black cloudy spots and veins on a rich greenish-yellow ground. It is used mostly for ornamental purposes, at least in these parts.

The fruit is a *drupe*, that is, it consists of a thin outside skin, a fleshy part, a stone, and a kernel. The kernel contains the germ or seed proper. The whole fruit is about the size of a pigeon's egg, generally oval, but sometimes globular or even slightly flattened. It is produced in great abundance. The unripe fruit is of a greenish or whitish-green color, turning to deep purple, or almost black, when fully ripe. Ripe olives are said to be a great delicacy, but we have our private opinion of the man who says he *likes* the green pickled trash that we sometimes meet with. Each of the four parts of the fruit (the skin, the flesh, the stone, the kernel), contains an oil peculiar to itself. They are all compounds of olein, palmitin, and arachin, with a very little stearin. That which comes from the flesh contains less palmitin and more olein than the others, and consequently remains fluid at a much lower temperature. The flesh moreover contains a greater quantity of oil than all the rest of the fruit together, the amount in the whole fruit averaging about 40 per cent. of the entire weight, while in the flesh alone it often rises to as much as 70 per cent.

*Preparation of Olive Oil (a).*—To prepare the very finest oil, known as "Virgin Oil," only the flesh of the choicest fruit, carefully picked by



hand, is used. The fruit must be picked as soon as it turns purple, before it is fully ripe, as the oil will then be lighter in color and more fragrant. The olives are next spread in a single layer upon a linen cloth, and allowed to remain there for four or five days, in order to let a certain portion of the water which they contain, evaporate. They are then carefully peeled, piece by piece, so that not the smallest bit of skin remains. The flesh is now separated from the stone, reduced to pulp in suitable mortars, packed in strong linen, and the oil expressed by twisting the linen together. The virgin oil is allowed to settle in a cool place, and after about a month is filtered.

If the fruit was perfect and picked exactly in the nick of time and dried just right and was carefully handled and if, besides, all the operations were perfectly successful, with no mishaps or accidents, the result will be "Virgin oil, grade AA." This oil does not contain over 0.4 per cent. of free acid. If, however, anything has gone wrong, the grade will be reduced to one of the five following, A, 1, 2, 3 or 4, each one being a little lower than the preceding one. A considerable quantity still remains in the pulp, and a second and stronger pressure will bring forth a certain quantity that will be classed with No. 3 or No. 4, according to circumstances. In any case, these five last grades will all be called "superfine table oils," but how much of them ever reaches the table unadulterated is quite another matter.

Up to this point the expressed oils are called "cold-pressed" or "cold-drawn," but the pulp has not been exhausted yet. A further operation consists in treating the same pulp with warm water and subjecting it to a pretty strong pressure between warm plates, and this is again supplemented by boiling the pulp in water and giving it a still stronger squeezing between plates kept quite hot. The oils so obtained are unfit for table use, but are relegated to class (c) below.

(b) *Ordinary Table Oils*.—They are prepared by crushing the olives entire, without special care as to the perfection of the fruit or its degree of ripeness. Only the first and second quality cold-drawn are used for the table; the warm- and the hot-pressed are sent down to class (c).

These table oils are named from the place of their production, as "Provence oil," which is the most highly esteemed; next come "Florence oil," "Lucca oil," and "Genoa oil," then "Sicily oil" and "Spanish oil," both of inferior quality, but the latter the worst of the whole lot. The difference of quality in these oils depends probably on the variety of the tree cultivated, as well as on the climate and on the mode of cultivation.

(c) *Huiles d'Olive à Fabrique*.—Brannt translates this by "fabricated oils," but they certainly are not *fabricated* in the sense of being artificial. We think the expression means rather "oils of an inferior quality," just as "*marchandises à fabrique*" means "goods of an inferior quality."

When the olives, through any accident, have become damaged or worm-eaten, or have begun to decay through disease or over-ripening, they are no longer fit for the production of table oil. They are then

ground up and hot-pressed, but without the addition of any water, and the oil so obtained having been clarified by standing several months is used as illuminating oil. The residue is next ground over and put through the warm-pressure process with water, and the product, which rejoices in the name of "Gorgon oil," is allowed to stand and settle. It separates into two layers, the upper one of which is clear and is used as a machine oil and for dressing wool. The lower layer is turbid and rather thick. It is of a green color and a disagreeable odor, and is employed in the manufacture of soap.

The refuse from this last operation is dumped into a deep cistern, partly filled with water, and stirred from time to time. Some oil, of a very inferior quality, collects on the surface, whence it is skimmed off, and then passed along to the soapmakers. The odor from the cistern is so awful that the oil, in the vigorous language of the French workmen, has been dubbed "*huile d'enfer*," literally, "hell oil," but we do not believe the expression has passed into the Anglo-Saxon.

(*d*) *Gallipoli Oil*.—Lastly, an oil, named after the place of its manufacture (in Italy), was formerly much used in Turkey-red dyeing. It was prepared from olives that had been purposely strongly fermented before pressure. It is a turbid oil, of a dark green color, and contains up to 12 per cent. of acid. It is but little used at the present day.

*Commerce*.—We have very few figures of recent date concerning the amount of olive oil put upon the market. Twenty years ago, the United States imported annually about 350,000 gallons of the oil, valued at about \$500,000. Two years ago, England imported about 6,000,000 gallons, but again exported a large part of it. Olive oil is worth something in the region of \$1.25 a gallon.

*B. Almond Oil*.—There are two varieties of the almond tree, the *sweet* and the *bitter*, so named from the taste of their nuts. These, again, are subdivided into several other varieties, differing from each other chiefly in the size and shape of the fruit and the thickness of the shell of the nut. The tree usually attains the height of from 15 to 20 feet, with numerous and widespreading branches. The leaves are of a bright green color, about 3 inches long by  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch wide, and pointed at both ends. The almond tree is a native of Persia, Syria and Barbary, but has long been cultivated throughout southern Europe. It has been introduced into the United States, but in the northern and middle sections the fruit does not come to perfection. It is thought that the sweet varieties have been derived from the bitter by cultivation. "The fruit is a drupe of the peach kind, with the outer covering thin, tough, dry and marked with a longitudinal furrow where it bursts open when fully ripe. Within this covering is a rough shell containing the kernel." The "outer covering" spoken of by the "Dispensatory" is a dry, fibrous husk, corresponding to the fleshy part of the peach, while the "true outer covering" is a very thin skin, strongly adherent to the husk. The sweet almond comes to us deprived of its husk, and is used as a table nut and also in the manufacture of confectionery.

Bitter almonds are smaller than the sweet variety, but this is of minor

importance. The essential difference is, that bitter almonds contain a peculiar substance denominated "amygdalin," which is totally wanting in the sweet ones. It is not considered hurtful in itself, but in the presence of water and a ferment (yeast) it is decomposed into "prussic acid" and "volatile oil of bitter almonds," both of which are dangerous poisons. Now, a ferment called "emulsin" exists ready prepared in almonds, and when they are chewed the water is supplied by the saliva, and hence the poisons are developed. The kernels of the peach nut, and even the bark and leaves of the tree, yield the same principles. Of course, the amount of poison to be thus obtained and taken into the system from a single peach or almond nut is small, but yet fatal cases have been recorded from the eating of a few peach kernels, especially among children.

Almond oil (the true or fixed oil, not the volatile) is obtained indifferently from either the bitter or the sweet variety; but when the former is employed great care must be taken that no water gets in, for in that case the poisonous volatile oil and prussic acid would be produced. Bitter almonds contain from 40 to 50 per cent, and sweet almonds from 45 to 55 per cent, of oil; but as in either case it is always extracted cold, not more than 38 per cent. of the former and 45 per cent. of the latter can be realized. Almond oil is clear and odorless, of a pale yellow color and a very agreeable mild taste. It consists chiefly of olein and is rather more thinly fluid than olive oil. It is extensively used as a basis for perfumes, in the manufacture of soap and in medicine, especially in the form of emulsions for internal inflammations.

*C. Peanut Oil.*—The peanut is the fruit of a leguminous annual plant, a native of South America and probably also of Africa, but now cultivated in large quantities in our southern States, in China and elsewhere. It is a peaceable kind of a nut, and yet it has more *aliases* than the worst criminal ever taken alive or dead. It is called ground-nut, earthnut, groundpea, manila nut, jurnut, goober, pindal, pindar, etc. . . . but if you want to be scientifically correct, and no mistake, call it the *arachis hypogæa* nut, and you are safe. A remarkable property of the plant is that its fruit ripens under the surface of the ground, into which the pods penetrate during their growth. The nut consists sometimes of a single yellowish-white seed, but far more frequently of two, enveloped in a dry, brittle, elongated husk or pod. When uncooked they have a sort of raw-potato taste, but by roasting, a delicate aroma is developed, which renders them a very agreeable, as well as wholesome, article of food, especially for the young. They are also said to promote friendship and good feeling. In some places they are much used as a substitute for coffee.

The oil is all contained in the kernel or seed, of which it constitutes from 38 to 45 per cent. It is extracted from the raw seeds by pressure. The first cold-drawn oil is nearly colorless and of an agreeable taste, and is said to be at least equal to olive oil for table use. Our French and Italian friends will, however, probably dispute this statement.

The second cold-drawing, aided by a little water, yields an oil used



in lamps, for which purpose it surpasses even the best sperm oil. Our friends, the whales, will probably *not* dispute this. It is also extensively used by druggists in the preparation of pomades, cold-cream, etc.

A third pressure (warm) yields an oil, yellowish in color and of a slightly disagreeable taste and odor. It, however, makes an excellent, firm, whitish soap, free from odor. It is also a good machine oil. The oil-cake is valuable as fodder or as manure.

Chemically speaking, peanut oil consists of the glycerides of oleic, palmitic, hypogæic and arachic acids, the formulas for which, just here, would probably prove more ornamental than useful.

The "peanut business" of the world is looking up. The French colony of Senegal, West Africa, is credited with a production of 30,000 tons annually, worth, at a wild guess, about \$3,000,000. From the beginning of the world to the year 1860 the aggregate for the United States is estimated at about 150,000 bushels. At the present time the annual production is over 5,000,000 bushels, and peanuts are worth at wholesale, at the place of production, about \$1 a bushel.

*D. Colza Oil—Rape Oil.*—Colewort (*i.e.*, cole plant, or field cabbage) is said to have been originally the name of a wild plant from which a large number of cultivated varieties have been derived. These include the modern cultivated colewort, cabbage (of many kinds), cauliflower, kale, broccoli, Brussels sprouts, black and white mustard, rape, navew, and the various sorts of turnips. In spite of their wide differences these have all been, by some botanists, brought under the one generic name, *Brassica*. In all the species the seeds are very small, rape seed, the common bird food, being an example.

Colza and rape oil are so nearly identical that, for all practical purposes, they may be considered as one. They are obtained from the cultivated cole seed and rape seed by pressure. Freshly pressed, they have a more or less dark, brownish-yellow color, and are almost odorless, but, by storing for some time, they acquire a peculiarly disagreeable odor and taste. In the crude state they can be used only as lubricants.

In a first refining by sulphuric acid, they lose most of this odor, and acquire a pale-yellow color. They are then suitable for use in the manufacture of rubber and as illuminating oils, and for these purposes they are largely employed. They may be refined by another way, which consists in mixing them with about one-third of their weight of potato starch, heating the mixture for a few hours, and then allowing it to stand and settle. The oil from this operation is of a paler color, and is said to be suitable even for table use; but we believe it has not been put on the market for that purpose. If not content even with this, you may try yet another method. Take equal parts of 96 per cent. alcohol and sulphuric acid. To every 100 parts of oil add 2 parts of the mixture, and let the whole stand for two or three days. A black deposit will settle down, while the supernatant oil will be as clear and colorless as water.

Colza or rape oil, suitably refined, is an excellent illuminant, burning

with a bright, white flame, without depositing soot and without odor. Enormous quantities are manufactured for this purpose, especially in Germany.

The chemist has his say in stating that these oils are mixtures mainly of the glycerides of brucic (erucic) acid, a near relative of oleic acid, and stearin. There are many other oils belonging to Group I., but we think we have mentioned the most important.

#### GROUP II.—COTTON SEED OIL GROUP. (Vegetable Semi-Drying Oils.)

The oils of this group are, as it were, "on the fence" as regards drying properties, being in this respect better than those of Group I., but much worse than those of Group III. They are somewhat denser than the non-drying, and lighter than the true drying oils. They are only partially solidified by nitrous acid in the elaidin test.

A. *Cotton Seed Oil*.—The botanical genus *Gossypium* (cotton plant) is divided into four distinct species, and these are again subdivided into twenty or more varieties. In all the species the cotton is contained, together with the seed, in a thin dry capsule, which bursts when ripe, allowing the cotton to expand by its elasticity into a large tuft or "cotton ball." The history and description of the cotton plant and of the cotton itself would be too long for insertion here, and must be laid aside for some other occasion.

The seeds are small and vary in color from pale gray through yellow and brown to almost black. In some species they are perfectly smooth, in others they are thickly covered with hair or down. The quantity of oil in the best seed rises to about 30 per cent. of the total weight.

In the manufacture of the oil, the first operation is the shelling, which consists in separating the kernel from the hull in which it is enclosed. This is done by suitable machinery, and the hulls are blown away by a strong blast of air in the winnowing machine. The oil might, it is true, be had directly from the unshelled seeds, but in that case the oil cake, which is otherwise a very valuable fodder, would be fit for nothing but fuel.

The clean kernels are then passed through a crushing machine, consisting of several pairs of steel rollers, each pair being set a little closer than the pair immediately above, so that on emerging from the lowest pair the meal is in the state of a very fine powder, the oil cells being all broken open and the oil just ready to run out. In Europe, a certain quantity of prime salad oil is obtained by a gentle cold pressure, and then a second quality by warm pressure. In this country, we prefer to extract at the outset, by a single warm pressure, all the oil that the seed will profitably yield, and then refine it to different degrees, according to its intended use. By this means we get four different qualities of oil, the fourth being the best. Thus:

(1) Crude oil, which is thickly fluid, of a dirty-yellow color, inclining to red, and from which, on standing, a slimy sediment is deposited.

(2) Second quality oil, which is thinner than the preceding, and has a pale-orange color, is obtained by refining the crude oil.

(3) Third quality oil, of a yet paler color, is obtained by a further refining of the second.

(4) Fourth quality oil is the result of bleaching the third to a very pale straw-yellow color.

This method of making oil is preferred to the older methods because it entails less labor and less waste. The chemical process by which this method of refining was rendered possible was discovered in this country, and was long kept secret, but it is now generally known to oil manufacturers.

It consists essentially in treating the oil with carbonate of soda or with caustic soda. An iron tank, capable of holding easily ten tons of crude oil, and about a ton and a half of a rather weak soda lye, is provided with a mechanical stirrer. The soda lye is fed slowly by perforated pipes over the whole surface of the oil, and the stirring kept up for about half an hour. By this means a certain amount of soap is formed, which, in settling to the bottom of the tank, carries with it all the dirt and most of the coloring matter.

The fourth quality oil, mentioned above, is a good salad oil, with a very pleasant taste. It is exported in enormous quantities to Europe, where it is said to be used to adulterate olive oil; and as we import olive oil from Europe, it follows, as the night does the day, or as the tail-end of a syllogism, that a part of our cotton seed oil returns, under the guise of "Virgin Olive Oil," to the land of its birth and its own true love. It is a perfectly good, pure, and wholesome oil; still, it has no right to masquerade under false appearances.

Even third quality oil is much better for culinary purposes than lard or "cooking butter," and we hope to live to see the day when our "doughnuts" and "what-nots" will be fried in the pure oil of the gossypium seed. Well stored in glass or tin, in a reasonably cool place, cotton seed oil will keep sweet and good for years.

The cotton seed oil industry of this country is not, as many suppose, in its infancy, or if so, the infant is remarkably fat and lusty. We give an estimate, which is probably much under rather than anything over the mark, based on the reports of recent years. It represents the business of our forty-five mills for one year:

500,000 tons of seed, yielding 35 gallons of oil to the ton, making	
17,500,000 gallons of crude oil, worth 30 cents per gallon, . . . .	\$5,250,000
Every ton of seed yields, in the hulling machine, 22 pounds of cotton	
lint, worth 8 cents per pound, . . . . .	880,000
Every ton of seed yields 750 pounds of oil cake, making a total of	
167,410 tons of oil cake, worth \$20 per ton, . . . . .	3,348,200
Total, . . . . .	\$9,478,200

When refined, the oil is, of course, worth much more, but even this gives us a pretty good idea of the size of the "baby." And, after all, cotton seed oil is only a mixture of olein and palmitin.



*B. Sunflower Seed Oil.*—Every one whose education has not been radically neglected knows the common sunflower, with its thick, rough stem and single æsthetic blossom. In our climate it attains the height of five or six feet, bearing at its very top the round, disk-like flower a foot or more in diameter; but in the Tropics it often nods its head to its love, the sun, at a height of more than twenty feet.

With us it is cultivated, here and there, as a garden flower, or for the sake of the seeds, which are mostly intended as a holiday dessert for a few of the more favored fowl of the barnyard. In Germany, however, and Hungary and China, but especially in Russia, it is cultivated on a large scale as a field crop, not only for the sake of the seed, but because every part of the plant has its own special value.

The stalks, when treated as flax, yield a long, strong, fine fibre, which the Chinese are accused of using for the adulteration of their silk. They (the stalks, not the Chinese) are also used as fuel, and the ash, which contains fully 10 per cent. of potash, is highly prized by soap-makers. The leaves furnish an excellent fodder, and when the "little busy bee" gets a whack at the flowers, he "improves the shining hour," and sails home gladly, richly laden with honey and wax. The seeds are used instead of flour by some tribes of American Indians, and are a first-class fattening food for poultry and cattle. The growing plant has the reputation of possessing strong anti-malarial properties, and it is on record that a whole tract of country along the "lazy Scheldt," in Belgium, was freed from miasms and rendered healthy by its cultivation.

It surpasses the "good seed" in the Gospel, in that it brings forth fruit, not thirty—nor sixty, nor yet a hundred—but, literally, a thousand fold. Moreover, it is easily cultivated. Plant the seeds six inches apart and about one inch deep, and when the stalks are a foot high gave them a good hoeing, and then let nature do the rest. But we are losing sight of our oil.

Under favorable conditions, an acre of ground will yield 50 bushels of seed, and this quantity will give 50 gallons of oil, and 1500 pounds of oil-cake, valuable as fodder or fuel. The seeds are threshed out, and thoroughly dried. They are then hulled and winnowed by suitable machinery, and passed through the crusher. The hulled seeds contain 35 per cent. of oil. By a first cold pressure up to 20 per cent. may be extracted; by subsequent warm pressure an additional 10 per cent., while the remaining 5 per cent. sticks to the cake.

The cold-drawn oil is used exclusively as a table oil; and in eastern Russia it also takes the place of every other fat in the preparation of food. It is pronounced scarcely inferior even to the best olive oil. It is a clear oil, of a pale-yellow color, and an agreeable mild taste. The warm-pressed oil is employed in the manufacture of varnishes and soap, but as it is a medium-drying oil, it cannot be used on machinery. The glycerides of which it is made up, are those of lin-oleic, oleic, palmitic, and arachic acids. Knowing, as we do, its valuable properties, it is a matter of wonder that some enterprising American has not yet taken to its cultivation on a large scale. Among the other oils belonging to this

group are beech-nut, hazel-nut, and niger-seed oils, and some others, but they are relatively of minor importance.

### GROUP III.—LINSEED OIL GROUP. (Vegetable Drying Oils.)

These oils, on exposure to the air, absorb oxygen, and become perfectly dry varnishes. They are much more fluid than the non-drying oils, but nitrous acid does not solidify them. Their density ranges from .923 to .967. The principal oils of this group are:

A. *Linseed Oil*.—Common flax is a native of Egypt, southern Europe, and some parts of Asia. It has a very slender, erect stem, two or three feet high, branching only near the top so as to form a loose cluster of flowers. The "flax," from which linen thread and cloth is manufactured, is the fibre of the inner bark of the stem, and is used equally for the finest and for the coarsest fabrics—for the most delicate cambric or exquisite lace, and for the strongest sail-cloth. Flax was cultivated under the Pharaohs long before the time of Moses, for it has been proved by recent microscopical examination that the cloth in which the mummies of Egypt are enveloped is linen. Of flax and its near relations there are ninety known species, but only a few are employed on a large scale. The Latin name is *Linum*, and hence "Linseed" and "Flaxseed," are but the Sunday and week-day names for the same thing. For want of space we leave the fibre and go to the seed.

In the grown plant the seeds are contained in a capsule which does not burst on ripening, and therefore the plants must be threshed. The seeds are yellowish- or dark-brown, glossy, oval-oblong, flattened, pointed at one end, and about one-twelfth of an inch long. They contain nearly 35 per cent. of oil, but, in practice, only about 26 per cent. can be profitably extracted. The large quantity still left in the oil-cake, together with the albuminous substances present, renders it exceptionally valuable as cattle food, its nutritive value being about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times that of good hay. It is often used for poultices, but the entire-ground seed is much more drawing.

The oil is obtained by either of the three following processes:

(1) *Cold-drawn Oil*.—After harvesting, the seeds must be stored for several months, in order that the mucilage may become decomposed; otherwise, the oil will be viscous and turbid. They are then hulled, ground, and expressed without heat. By this process they yield about 20 per cent. of oil, which is used as a table oil and for baking in Russia and some parts of Germany. It is of a golden-yellow color, with a peculiar but not disagreeable taste and odor.

(2) *Ordinary Linseed Oil*.—This is prepared in the same manner as the foregoing, except that the drawing is done quite hot, and hence the oil acquires a very unpleasant taste. The yield is, however, greater, being 23 per cent. or more.

(3) The oil is sometimes extracted by solvents, but, although the yield is still greater, being as high as 33 per cent., yet this method is not considered economical on account of the extra labor involved in recovering the solvents, and the inevitable loss attending their use.

Linseed oil is a mixture of olein, palmitin, myristin, and linolein. The last is the glyceride of linoleic acid, and to it the drying quality of the oil is mainly due. "Ordinary linseed oil" is used in enormous quantities in the manufacture of paints, varnishes, printing-inks, waterproof stuffs, floor-cloths, elastic rollers, etc. For these purposes it occurs in commerce under four different forms, viz., "raw," "refined," "boiled," and "artists' oil." The "boiled" oil is by far the most important.

The reasons for boiling linseed oil for paint are principally two: First, in order to improve its drying qualities; and these may be substantially aided by the addition of litharge, red-lead or manganese dioxide. Secondly, in spite of every care, the raw oil contains a certain amount of mucilage (a gum dissolved in water). By heating the water is evaporated and the gum rises to the surface as a froth and is skimmed off. The oil will then spread more evenly over the work, and unite more readily with the "body" (white lead, zinc-white, etc.), as well as with the coloring matters which taste (or the want of it), or fancy, or fashion, prescribes.

"Artists' oil" is a fine grade of oil, especially prepared and refined for the use of the long-haired fraternity.

Linseed oil is used, to some extent in the manufacture of soap; but, as a lamp oil, it is a decided failure, on account of the soot and smoke it gives forth.

B. *Walnut Oil*.—This oil is made in the usual way from the kernel of the common walnut so well known as an article of food. It is a better dryer than even the best linseed oil, and is preferred for fine painting; and being entirely colorless, is in demand for delicate white colors; but, the supply is somewhat limited, as is also the case with several other members of this group—such as the oils of hemp-seed, poppy-seed, belladonna-seed, tobacco-seed, etc.

#### GROUP IV.—CASTOR OIL GROUP.

These oils have a density varying from .950 to .970, being thus the heaviest oils known. As to their drying qualities they resemble the oils of the cottonseed group, as also in their behavior with nitrous acid. Their chief characteristic, however, is that they are readily soluble in alcohol, which is not the case with any of the other fluid oils.

The best known of this group are:

A. *Castor Oil*.—The castor oil plant (*Ricinus communis*) is a native of the south of Asia, but has been naturalized and is now cultivated in Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Spain, Italy, the West Indies, Brazil, and the United States as far north as New Jersey. In our climate it grows from 3 to 10 feet in height, but in the East Indies and in Africa it attains a height of 30 or 40 feet. On account of the soothing properties of its leaves, it has been called "Palma Christi," "The Palm of Christ."

It is highly ornamental by its stately growth, its large broad leaves which measure up to 2 feet across, and its generally purplish hue. The capsules, which hold three seeds each, are covered with soft spines. The seed is from  $\frac{1}{3}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in length. The Romans called the plant



*Ricinus*, from the resemblance which the seed bears to an insect of that name—in English, the *tick*.

From 100 pounds of hulled seeds the yield in oil is about as follows :

1st pressure (cold),	.	.	.	29 pounds (used in medicine).
2d pressure (cold),	.	.	.	15 pounds (machine oil).
3d pressure (warm),	.	.	.	6 pounds (lamp oil).
Total,	.	.	.	50 pounds.

This is just 50 per cent. of the weight of the seeds. The oil-cake, which contains the other 5 to 10 per cent., is used as manure or fuel. The oil may also be obtained by soaking the crushed seeds in alcohol and then distilling the alcohol out ; but the product does not keep well.

Castor oil is the most viscid of all the oils. It has a mild but somewhat nauseous flavor, and is colorless or nearly so. In medicine it is used as a mild (?) purgative. By exposure to the air it becomes rancid and acquires decidedly poisonous properties ; it should never be used internally when in that condition. The principal component of castor oil is ricin-olein, mixed with a little palmitin and stearin.

B. *Croton Oil*.—The *Croton Tiglium* is a small tree or shrub indigenous to the Malabar coast, but now cultivated to a considerable extent in the Indian Archipelago. The capsules are about the size of a filbert-nut and contain three seeds each. The oil is obtained in the same way as castor oil, the yield being about 20 to 30 per cent. The chemical composition of the oil is as much a matter of dispute as the worse case in moral theology. Some say that it is a mixture of the glycerides of stearic, palmitic, myristic and lauric acids, touched up with a certain quantity of oenanthylic (pyroterebic), caproic, valerianic, butyric and acetic acids. Others assert that it contains moreover crotonic and angelic acids. Others deny this last flatly, and, instead of those two, put tiglic acid, and then find fault generally with that first modest list, and wind up by getting in a lot of ill-defined “what-not-ic” acids of their own. Having thought the matter over, and examined it as carefully as possible, we have concluded to take a middle course and “give it up.”

Croton oil has an acid taste, and a characteristic, unpleasant odor. It is a powerful purgative (perhaps that’s what’s the matter with them), one drop of the pure oil being plenty for a dose. When rubbed on the skin it produces inflammation and eruptions of pustules, and is therefore used as a counter-irritant ; that is, to relieve inflammation in an organ where it is dangerous by producing it in another place where it is practically harmless. Happily, the oil is soluble in alcohol, and can therefore be diluted to any required extent, but it should still be employed with the utmost caution. Even the leaves of the plant are strongly impregnated with the same virtues (or vices).

GROUP V.—PALM OIL GROUP.

GROUP VI.—COCOA-NUT OIL GROUP.

} (Solid Vegetable Fats).

These two groups resemble each other very much. About the only reason for separating them seems to be that members of the latter group

contain a large proportion of certain glycerides which distil over in a current of steam at 212 degrees Fahrenheit, while in the former group, the percentage of these glycerides is much smaller. Their density runs from .920 to .995.

There are about 1100 species of palms. They are of all sizes, from little things, whose stems rise scarcely a few inches out of the ground, to graceful giants standing 250 feet high in their stocking-feet; though even at that, only three or four feet thick. The "rattan" is a palm, but as it is too slender to support its own weight, it seeks the friendly aid of other palms, climbing like a vine to the top, then descending again, crossing over to another tree, climbing again, and so on. A single "cane-palm," or rattan, is said, on the authority of Rumphius, to stretch out sometimes to a length of 1800 feet, but others think this statement an exaggeration. Anyhow, in our youthful days, we always thought the cane-palm more than long enough for all practical purposes.

The leaves vary as much as the stems. One of the small ones would not furnish a locust with a satisfactory breakfast, while the larger ones often measure fifty feet in length by eight or ten feet across.

The fruit is of all sizes, from that of a cherry to that of the cocoa-nut, with which latter the gorillas are said to play foot-ball.

The palm, in its different varieties, furnishes food, drink (temperance and otherwise), clothing, light, heat, paper, cordage, boats, household utensils, furniture, and even the houses themselves, for millions of human beings. It is said that a colored preacher once explained Divine Providence thus: "De Lord make ebberthing. He make de black man and de white man. Den de Lord hold out his right hand and his left hand. In de right hand was a book; in de left hand rice and palm-oil. De black man choose first. He choose de rice and palm-oil. De white man den choose de book. De book teach de white man how to git ebberthing else, but de black man nebber git nuffin but de rice and palm-oil."

Want of time and space, however, forbids us to dwell on these matters now. Martinus, of Munich, in 1845, published a work on the subject, entitled, "*Genera et Species Palmarum*." It is a magnificent work in three large folio volumes, illustrated with 219 colored plates. It describes about 500 species, all that were known at that time, and cost the author more than twenty years of labor. We recommend it to the perusal of our readers. But it is high time to get back to our oil-pots.

Palm oil (or palm butter) is obtained from the fleshy part of the fruit of two species of palms growing in West Africa; and the kernels of the same fruit yields palm-nut oil. Another species gives the cocoa-nut oil, and yet another the cacao butter. In all these the oil is solid (call it butter, or fat, or what you like) and the quantity is remarkably large, running from 50 to 70 per cent. of the weight of the flesh or the kernel, as the case may be. Formerly they were manufactured only on the spot where the plants grow, and where skilled ignorance is the rule. The percentage then realized was quite small; but of late years, since the white man has got a grip on the raw materials, the fruit has been made to yield something approximating to theoretical satisfaction.

These oils are mixtures principally of palmitin and olein, with enough of other glycerides to distinguish them from one another. In their own home they are used for food, but never by people who can get cow's butter. We employ them, however, quite extensively in the manufacture of fine soaps, and, in the form of stearic acid, for our pure white, opaque candles. The semi-transparent humbugs, which dealers at times try to palm off on us for wax, are merely paraffin, which has no blood relationship with any of the foregoing oils. The commerce in the raw materials is quite large, the single town of Marseilles importing annually more than 40,000 tons of palm-nut kernels for use in the soap and candle industries.

Nutmeg butter, shea butter, and laurel (bayberry) oil belong here, but they are relatively unimportant.

GROUP VII.—TALLOW GROUP. (Solid Animal Fats).

This group includes all the solid fats derived from land animals. We give some of the more important ones :

A. *Lard*.—At this point of our journey, the first to greet us with a bland and pleasant smile is lard. Not everything that glitters is gold, neither does every label tell the truth ; but we think that lard-labels are about the worst, in this respect.

Properly speaking, lard is the fat deposited along the ribs, intestines, and kidneys of the swine tribe ; and because this is separable into thin layers it is called "leaf-lard." All the fat, however, which can be "tried out" of the carcass is sold and accepted as lard. The operation of separating the fat, by means of heat, from the cells and tissues is called "rendering." It is a very simple operation. The leaf-fat, together with the head and such other portions as are not made use of in packing, is placed in tall tanks and heated by high-pressure steam for some hours until the fat-cells burst and the oil is set free. The product is then drawn off, clarified and cooled. It contains 62 per cent. of olein and nearly 38 per cent. of stearin, with only a very small quantity of palmitin. The uses of lard are too well known to require notice here.

B. *Tallow*.—Ox-tallow (beef suet) and sheep-tallow (mutton suet) differ from lard principally in the proportions of their constituents, these being of the same kinds in all, and therefore they differ also in their melting points, thus :

	Olein.	Stearin and Palmitin.	Melting-point.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Fah.
Lard.....	62	38	90
Ox Tallow.....	33½	66½	109
Mutton Tallow.....	30	70	115

Besides being very important articles of food, the tallows conjure up in our minds many a lovely vision of soap and candles.



C. *Butter*.—Butter constitutes the oily part of the milk of all mammals, but the name is usually restricted to the product obtained from the milk of the domestic cow. The composition of milk varies somewhat with the breed of the cow and her general health, the season of the year, etc. On an average it has been found to contain :

	Per cent.	
Butter-fat, . . . . .	3.3	Solid constituents.
Milk, sugar and soluble salts, . . . .	5.1	
Caseine (the principal constituent of cheese) and insoluble salts, . . . . .	4.1	
Water, . . . . .	87.5	
	100.	

The butter-fat exists in the milk in the form of minute globules (improperly called "milk globules,")  $\frac{1}{1000}$  of an inch in diameter, each enveloped in a delicate membrane of caseine, which hinders them from running together. When the milk is left at rest, most of the globules rise and float on the surface; they are then called "cream." The spontaneous "coming" of the cream requires from twelve to twenty-four hours, but by means of centrifugal machines the separation is now effected in about twenty minutes. In the operation of "churning" the globules are broken up and the fat made to coalesce into lumps. By washing with cold water and kneading, most of the caseine, sugar and salts are removed, the composition of the butter now being :

	Per cent.
Butter-fat, . . . . .	93.00
Caseine, sugar, etc., . . . . .	.30
Water, . . . . .	6.70
	100.

The effect of the presence of the caseine, sugar and water is to set up a fermentation by which the butter soon becomes rancid. To hinder this, about 3 per cent. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  ounce to the pound) of salt is added and well worked into the mass. Rancid butter may be made sweet by kneading it well with clear water or, better, with lime water and re-salting. To satisfy those who are yearning to know the whole butterine truth, we give the list of all the substances so far found in pure butter. They are the glycerides of

(1) Acetic acid, . . . . .	$C_2H_4O_2$	These are volatile acids, soluble in water, to which the characteristic odor of butter is due.
(2) Butyric acid, . . . . .	$C_4H_8O_2$	
(3) Caproic acid, . . . . .	$C_6H_{12}O_2$	
(4) Caprylic acid, . . . . .	$C_8H_{16}O_2$	
(5) Capric acid, . . . . .	$C_{10}H_{20}O_2$	Volatile acids in minute quantities and soluble in water.
(6) Lauric acid, . . . . .	$C_{12}H_{24}O_2$	
(7) Myristic acid, . . . . .	$C_{14}H_{28}O_2$	
(8) Palmitic acid, . . . . .	$C_{16}H_{32}O_2$	
(9) Stearic acid, . . . . .	$C_{18}H_{36}O_2$	Non-volatile acids, insoluble in water.
(10) Arachic acid, . . . . .	$C_{20}H_{40}O_2$	
(11) Oleic acid, . . . . .	$C_{18}H_{34}O_2$	

To which should be added, lecithine,  $C_{42}H_{84}NPO_6$ , which is also a component of hen's-egg oil, the N meaning nitrogen and the P meaning phosphorus.

It will be noticed that down to (10) inclusively the list is perfectly regular, the formula for each acid being obtained by the addition of  $C_2H_4$  to the next preceding one. The 11th, however, is off, and the last a long way off; but unless you find all these things in your butter you may know that you are being cheated, and in that case it might be well to speak to your grocer.

Below 50 degrees Fahrenheit fresh butter is quite hard.

Between 50 and 68 degrees it is spreadable.

Between 68 and 77 degrees it gets ready to start on the run.

At 88 degrees it melts to a clear yellow liquid.

Butter is, we believe, used as food. The Greeks and Romans, however, employed it solely as an ointment in the bath. Perhaps it is an unconscious reminiscence of this which makes the country folks of New England say, "One foot in the grave and the other all but a—."

Oleomargarine (g hard, please) is a perfectly legitimate, honest, healthy and wholesome artificial butter, which has been "sat upon" in this country by ignorant legislators or, worse, by legislators who are accused of passive bribery; and hence we can have none of it. More's the pity, especially for the poor.

#### GROUP VIII.—TALLOW OIL GROUP. (Liquid Land Animal Fats.)

The members of this group are derived from the corresponding members of Group VII., and differ from them in being nearly pure oleine. They differ from the members of Group IX. by solidifying with nitrous acid and by not turning red or brown when treated with boiling caustic soda and by the absence of any fishy odor.

A. *Lard Oil*.—Lard oil is, perhaps, the nearest approach to pure olein to be found in nature. It does contain a little stearin and less palmitin, the percentage of which depends on the manner in which the oil has been extracted. When lard is subjected to very strong pressure at a low temperature the oil oozes out, while most of the stearin remains in the form of a hard cake. The oil is almost colorless and thinly fluid, and does not thicken by cold until near the freezing point of water. At a somewhat lower temperature it becomes solid.

Lard oil is used as a table oil, also for cooking, for burning, for lubricating machinery, for dressing wool and for adulterating olive oil. The annual product of the United States is about 10,000,000 gallons. The stearin left from the extraction of the oil goes to the candlemakers, principally of England, France and Germany.

B. *Tallow Oil*.—This oil is expressed from either beef or mutton suet, but the process is rather more difficult than in the case of lard oil. The tallow is first melted and then mixed with one-tenth of its volume of benzine or other suitable solvent. The mixture, after cooling, is subjected to a very strong pressure in a hydraulic press. The olein,

dissolved in the solvent, runs off, while most of the stearin remains in the solid cake. It is used for the same purposes as lard oil.

C. *Neat's Foot Oil*.—Neat's foot oil is an exception, as to the manner of its preparation, to the other oils of the group. The feet of oxen deprived of the hoofs are boiled for a long time in water. The hot liquid is allowed to stand and cool. In doing so the liquid rises to the surface, but is still mixed with a good deal of tallow. To get rid of this the material is put into a kettle, together with a large quantity of water, and the whole is kept, for at least twenty-four hours, sufficiently warm to let the fat separate from the oil. On cooling, the fat solidifies, leaving the pure oil floating on the top. The oil having been drawn off and strained is ready for the market. Neat's foot oil is very good for light machinery, but it is especially prized for dressing leather, for which purpose it is said to surpass all other oils.

#### GROUP IX.—WHALE OIL GROUP. (Marine Animal Oils.)

This group comprises the various oils obtained from fish and from cetaceous (whale-like) mammals. They have generally a disagreeable fishy taste and odor, and turn red or brown when boiled with caustic soda, but are not solidified by nitrous acid. They are often called "train-oils" from the German word "thran," originally "liquid forced out by fire." They are all non-driers. A few of these oils are:

A. *Whale Oil*.—There are many species of whales, chief among which are the Right whale of Greenland waters, with his brother of the Antarctic seas and another brother of the north Pacific, and his cousin, the humpback (finback or rorqual). They measure up to fifty feet in length.

The oil is obtained by "rendering" the blubber (coating of fat tissue) which covers the body and keeps the animal warm. A right whale will yield from 15 to 30 tons of oil and the same weight of "whalebone," but the finback much less of each, while its whalebone is at the same time of an inferior quality. The largest capture ever made by the vessels hailing from American ports was in 1851, in which year 57,747 tons of oil and 1770 tons of baleen (whalebone), worth in round numbers \$8,485,000 and \$3,570,000 respectively. Since that time the business has decreased to comparatively insignificant proportions. The reasons for this falling off are, first, because the whale, not being a prolific breeder, was hunted nearly out of existence; second, because the discovery of petroleum gave us a substitute for nearly every purpose for which the whale oil was needed; third, because steel, valcanite and other substances have usurped the place of whalebone in many articles of clothing, parasols, umbrellas and the like. But the whales, having had a short rest and having been allowed to educate their young in their own right way, without the interference of public school systems, are beginning again to thrive apace, and are, therefore, again becoming a source of anxiety in certain quarters.

B. *Sperm Oil*.—The sperm whale, or cacholot, is usually larger than the right whale, sometimes measuring 70 or 80 feet. It differs from the



latter in having in its head a large cavity filled with a semi-liquid mixture of oil and "spermaceti." The spermaceti is a beautiful white wax equally as valuable as stearic acid for the manufacture of candles.

The oil, separated from the spermaceti by draining, together with what is "rendered" from the blubber, is the sperm oil of commerce. One whale yields about 10 tons of oil. The production was at its height in 1853, when 17,179 tons of oil valued at \$2,662,800 were brought in by the whalers; but, just as in the case of the right whale, the sperm whales have nearly run out and the business nearly run down. The sperm whale has no baleen.

The porpoise, the black fish, the dugong and some others are classed under the general term "whale" and yield oils similar to the above. Sharks, rays, codfishes, menhadens, herrings, sprats, sardines and anchovies, all do their share in greasing up the wheels (literal and metaphorical) of the world and keeping them running smoothly.

C. *Seal Oil*.—We shall finish this long-drawn article with the dreamy, playful seal, of which there are half a dozen varieties, but we have no time to watch his gambols now.

To prepare seal oil the first thing to do is to catch the seal. Then skin him, but don't spoil the fur, for in some species it is worth more than the oil and all the rest. Collect the fat, melt it by steam heat, let it stand and settle, draw off the clear oil and sell it for "first quality." A second quality may be got by warm-pressure, while the residue and bones make an excellent manure. Some South Sea seals have been known to yield more than a ton of oil each.

All the oils of this whole group consist of varying proportions of the glycerides of physetoleic, stearic, palmitic, oleic, butyric and valerianic acids, to the last two of which their fishy odor and taste are probably due. On account of this taste and odor whale oils are not in demand as articles of food among people who boast of refinement, but the natives of the colder regions drink them without any scruple or seasoning. For the manufacture of soap and candles and as lubricating and illuminating oils they are perfectly suitable and hold a large place in the commerce of the world.

T. J. A. FREEMAN, S. J.

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## Book Notices.

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BELIEF IN THE DIVINITY OF JESUS CHRIST. By the *Rev. Father Didon*, of the Order of St. Dominic. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1894.

This 12mo., of 235 pages, contains eight lectures or sermons, which Father Didon delivered as a Lenten course in the Church of St. Mary Magdalen in Paris. The importance of the subject is very great for all men at all times, but its consideration at the present time is particularly important, because now the heretic and unbeliever do not waste their energies by attacking particular dogmas of Christianity, but they attack Christianity itself. They no longer try to interpret the teachings of Christ to suit their taste and convenience, but they seek to escape entirely from the obligation of obedience to His commands by denying His divinity and robbing Him of the authority to command. To accomplish this purpose, false systems of philosophy have been invented, false deductions from the sciences have been drawn, Christian teachers have been driven from the schools, and true philosophy and true science have been ridiculed.

In the introduction to his lectures, Father Didon calls the attention of his readers to these facts, and prepares them for the truth which he is about to unfold before them :

“Jesus Christ remains for all humanity what He said He was: the Way, the Truth, and the Life. Whosoever does not know Christ, does not know where he himself is going, he is not on the road, he struggles in the darkness or lies inert in the shadow of death; and he who having known Him forsakes Him, strays in blindness and loses eternal life. No human science can show us our supreme destiny; how could it clear the way for us? No philosophy can instruct us about divine truth, and how shall it give light to the soul that hungers for God? No created force can raise us to God, to the Infinite; how can it give us that life of which God is the eternal nourishment?

“The disciple of Jesus Christ escapes from the fatality of that weakness against which every living soul struggles and revolts, or under the weight of which it sinks at last in sadness and despair. He is freed from the service of false masters, for he knows their radical incompetence in the domain of destiny. If God exists, they are incapable, with all their science and philosophy, of translating for us His impenetrable will.

“The Divine Master, on the contrary, opens to the believer the way in which he must walk, and into which our Master first entered. He reveals to him the infinite truth of which He is the the incarnation, and forms into his will the Holy Spirit as a source of life springing from the bosom of God.

“The vain systems of philosophy—pantheism, materialism, subjectivism, idealism, positivism, scepticism—whose ephemeral reign leads astray many simple intellects who believe that frail combinations of thoughts and theories, of hypotheses and facts, can measure the Universal, the Infinite, the Absolute—these vain systems take no hold on the disciple of Christ. He judges them and cannot be judged by them, for he is above them. His reason is enfranchised by the word of his Mas-

ter; he holds this word by faith, he attempts not to measure it, knowing that it is unsearchable; human systems amuse and interest him, but they do not tyrannise over him. He treats them with independence and a good-natured eclecticism, without narrowness and without enthusiasm. He knows that they are all incomplete; why should he then submit to them? He recognises in each more or less truth; why then should he disdain their varied hues and sparkling facets? This proud emancipation of the mind has always been the honor of Christ's disciples.

"We hear howling all around us the wind of incredulity, enveloping the masses in its whirl, and even drawing into it a crowd of literary and scientific men, the masters of opinion and of power. We should stand calm in the tempest; our strength is not in numbers, in talent, in power, in science or human philosophy, in money, the god of faithless and decadent societies; no, our force is in Christ, who has chosen, and who keeps us in His word, wherein are all the treasures of wisdom and intellect; in His law of justice and love, without which all is given up to ruin; in His irresistible spirit, which has seized the world and against which nothing earthly and human can prevail."

The first lecture treats of the present state of the belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ:

"This belief is one of the most remarkable facts, the most prodigious phenomenon, of psychology and history.

"It is the centre of Christian dogma, the life of a multitude of believers, for it is professed by four hundred millions of human beings on the face of the globe. It is the life-giving principle of modern civilisation, the impregnable fortress which defends morals and culture, the corner-stone of that great pyramid raised by God in the midst of time and on the moving sands of humanity—the Catholic Church.

"Is the belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ living or dead? Is it declining or advancing? Has it finished the phase of its evolution, or does it describe a trajectory of which the term is infinite?

These questions are all the more interesting that we live in a time when, among those who consider themselves the chosen sons of literature, philosophy and the higher science, it has been and it still is the fashion to declare that dogmas are vanishing, that faith has received its death blow, that it is in its last agony, that its disappearance is a matter of years, it may be of centuries, but in any case a matter of time, and that emancipated reason and positive science will take charge of its obsequies."

But these prophets of woe are false prophets. Belief in Jesus Christ throughout the civilized world remains endowed with indomitable vitality. "A belief or a faith attests its vitality by two signs—its power of lasting and its vigor for expansion and resistance." The lasting force of a belief must be conceded when it is in harmony with human nature. Human nature craves absolute truth, unlimited good, impartial and uncorruptible justice. Now, these virtues exist in their entirety in God, and Jesus Christ has brought them to us in His sacred humanity, under a form suited to us, and, therefore, belief in the divinity of Christ is in harmony with human nature and possesses vitality.

"The second sign by which the vitality of a belief is shown is by the power of expansion and of resistance. A creature endowed with vitality manifests itself at once by its power of expansion in favorable surroundings, and by the force of its resistance in unfavorable surroundings." The surroundings most favorable to the belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ are those in which it has fullness of liberty. In modern civiliza-



tion this liberty is largest in England and the United States, and in these two countries, belief in Jesus Christ manifests itself by the most vigorous expansion.

"In the United States this phenomenon is most manifest, most astonishing. That classic land of individual independence, where men are free as trees in the virgin forest, is the land of exuberant expansion. So, when I chance to meet with American bishops, or missionaries, I seem to see a new world where faith is living, where barriers are removed, where each has his own place in the sun and may develop without hindrance. When I see them I feel as if I were intoxicated with holy independence. Well may you be happy, Americans, who have not to reckon with any one in the expansion of your living force; and it is good to be active and to have free elbow-room, to be outside of the old civilisations which have reached a point where, in their fixed and narrow grooves, men can go neither to the right nor to the left, neither forwards nor backwards, without finding a fence on which is written 'no thoroughfare.' The American church is happy in having her liberty, her entire liberty, and I envy her. But fifty years ago she counted only two or three million Catholics; to-day more than twelve million." This fact is a striking proof of the vitality of our belief.

If we turn now to regions where conditions are unfavorable, we shall find this faith declaring its robust vitality by its energetic resistance.

In France there are thirty-eight million people, and among them there are many thousands of scientists, philosophers, scribes and politicians. Among these classes the dominant feeling is a lively sense of their individuality and absolute right of criticism. They consider themselves competent and supreme judges of everything. The philosophical systems which guide their opinions are materialism, pantheism, naturalism, idealism, criticism, scepticism. This is not a favorable soil for faith, and yet we find that in this land so sterile and uncongenial there are more than forty thousand secular priests, subject to a hundred bishops, and governed by one pope; there are forty thousand monks, and a hundred and thirty thousand nuns. This is a magnificent resisting army that proves the vitality of the belief in the divinity of Christ, no less forcibly than its rapid expansion under favorable circumstances.

In the second lecture we consider the denial of the divinity of Jesus Christ in our day. We have looked at the noble army of believers; we must now turn our eyes on the vast army of unbelievers. From the beginning the world has been divided into these two armies—believers and unbelievers.

"The denials of the divinity of Christ which have been brought forward in the course of ages may be reduced to six. The first, contemporary with Jesus Christ, is the denial of the Jews; the second, which occupied the end of the first century, still continues, and is the Gnostic denial; the third, also still continued, is the Arian denial, which appeared in the fourth century. Then in the seventh century came the denial of Islam, which is perpetuated by Mahommedanism in the midst of our European world, without, however, mingling with it. Then the Socinian denial of the seventeenth century; and lastly, the Deistic denial of the eighteenth."

At the present time we are battling with the seventh denial, and their variation from the beginning until the present time is the first strong argument against them; for truth does not vary, and the belief in the divinity of Christ against which they have in vain hurled their venomous shafts, has been ever the same.

The last denial is the most sweeping of all. The others denied that

Christ is God ; this one denies that there is a God, and it is built on the foundation of universal evolution without God.

The doctrine of evolution may be summed up in a few fundamental propositions :

1. Universal reality is a great and complete whole possessed and moved by immanent force.

2. This immanent force is so called, in order to lay it down plainly, that nothing exists above, beyond, or outside of created reality.

3. It is impersonal, unconscious, blind.

4. This movement tends nowhere ; evolutionist doctrine knows no finality.

5. That which at the end of this progress continues forever and never attains its close, is the thought of man—man himself, the last step attained by evolution.

6. There is no God, because God cannot be an immanent, unconscious, blind force.

7. Fatalism, determinism is the universal law of production.

8. The world rolls unconscious towards an unknown goal. By aid of this doctrine, the divinity of Christ is denied at the present day. But this doctrine is opposed to essential reason.

Science affirms that matter is inert, and we know that matter moves. Now movement is a property of mind, and comes from a mind which transcends matter.

Again, we see life and thought appear. Whence do they come ? The evolutionist says that matter produces life, but if it did, it would produce more than itself, for life is more than matter. But the greater cannot come from the less, nor the perfect from the imperfect, and therefore matter does not produce life.

Again, that movement which is ever lifting beings higher, must have an end in view. But to tend to an end is to go out of self, and no one can go out of self without being drawn, and no one can be drawn unless something draws him. This effort necessarily supposes something beyond, a finality, for there can be no tendency towards nothing.

Hence a person uncorrupted by false systems of philosophy admits in the universe a transcendent principle which is God ; a legislator who produces movement, life, animal nature. It is surprising that so unreasonable a doctrine as evolution should have made so many disciples, but most of them are displeased with God for some reason or other, they are afraid to approach Him, and the easiest way out of the difficulty is to deny His existence.

This seventh denial will share the fate of the other six ; all that is human passes away, truth alone remains forever.

In the third lecture the worth of the denial of the divinity of Christ in our day is considered.

“The belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ is not only an interior fact, having its reality in the conscience of believers, and finding its public expression in the Catholic Church, it is at once a fact and a dogma ; a fact entrusted to authentic books and bound in the chain of historical events of which it forms the principal link ; a dogma which is the synthesis and the foundation of the whole creed of the Church.” Therefore, those who deny the divinity of Christ and the existence of God, must suppress the documents in which it is recorded in facts of history and in dogmas.

The country which has especially distinguished itself in this work is Germany. There are about twenty-three German universities, and probably there are not three in which the divinity of Christ is not denied.

In this work France is the servant of Germany. These atheists call the method by which they arrive at their denial, criticism. They have no right to this name. Criticism is the exercise of judgment in trying anything according to its absolute law. To judge anything according to a conventional standard, is to give to the judgment the value of the standard; if the standard is fantastic and capricious, the judgment is arbitrary; if the standard is false and absurd, the judgment is erroneous and absurd. Such a judgment the atheists of the present day call criticism.

These men find themselves in the presence of documents—the Gospels and Epistles—which testify on every page that Christ is God. The old-fashioned way of dealing with such troublesome witnesses was to destroy them, but that plan did not succeed, and it is no longer possible. The new-fashioned way is to destroy their force by reading them according to the laws of the modern criticism, so called. The right way is to seek their meaning from those who wrote them or who have been their custodians from the beginning. But the Catholic Church is the only appointed custodian of the Sacred Scriptures, and she alone can teach us their meaning.

The documents of history which teach us the divinity of Christ defy the atheist equally stubbornly. The flood of miracles and prophecies which testify to His divinity cannot be thrust aside arbitrarily. There are rules by which these facts of history are read and weighed, and according to these rules, those facts which bear upon the divinity of Christ cannot be challenged.

The fourth lecture deals with the chief reason for the belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ.

“The arguments or motives for belief are so numerous that to develop them at length would need not one, but twenty lectures; not one, but three or four volumes. These motives as a whole can be brought under three categories:

1. “We may appeal to all the ages which preceded Jesus Christ, and see them run their course; above all, among the people chosen of God to prophesy and prepare for the Messiah, and this is the argument: ‘The Messiah announced from the beginning implied divinity. The prophets called Him God with man—Emmanuel. But Jesus was this Messiah, and therefore He was God.’

2. “We may look at the times which have been since Jesus Christ, which the Catholic Church fills with the power of her declaration, with the splendor of her doctrine and her virtues, with the splendor of her deeds, and we may say, ‘The Church founded by Jesus Christ is a work which man could not originate nor even maintain; the divinity of the work reveals the divinity of the workman; therefore Christ, who was her founder, was God.’

3. “And, lastly, we may place ourselves at the centre of the history of Jesus Christ, and say: ‘Jesus Christ declared Himself the son of God, equal to the Father; therefore He was the Son of God, equal to the Father, and God as the Father.’”

The fifth lecture discusses the worth of the testimony of Jesus Christ affirming His divinity.

Having established the fact that Christ declared His divinity, and made such a declaration a part of the body of His work and teaching, it is necessary to examine this declaration and to criticise it rationally. No one should be surprised that the word rational criticism is applied to the sayings of Jesus Christ. “Faith is not a blind and impassive action of reason. Every thinking man has a full right to examine the motives



for belief before he believes, and he ought only to bend the knee when he recognises the wisdom of these motives. Jesus is a witness. He speaks, and declares that He is the Son of God, equal to the Father. What is the worth of this declaration before free, enlightened and impartial reason? If it has any worth, reason must recognise it; if it has not, the duty of reason is to repudiate it."

"The critical examination of testimony raises two questions: the first, relative to the tenor of the testimony; the other, relative to the worth of the witness. If we establish the tenor of the testimony from the point of men of reason, and if from the same point of view we establish the evidential value of Him who affirms, the duty of every impartial spirit, freed from prejudice, is to receive the testimony and bow to the authority of the witness."

The union of the human and divine natures does not imply anything contradictory or absurd. If we examine the nature of man, the nature of God and the general laws of the universe in which we live, we shall find perfect harmony between the declarations of Jesus Christ and our reason. Man, by nature, irresistibly moves towards the infinite. He ever seeks for more perfection, more love, more truth. Nothing created can satisfy his desires, and his goal must be the infinite.

The supreme law of God, if we may speak of law in regard to Him, is a law of outpouring and communication. He is goodness, and goodness seeks to communicate itself. Every idea which implies the communication of God with His creatures is conformed to the nature of God. Now, when humanity is joined to divinity it attains its highest perfection, satisfies its strongest cravings; and when divinity is joined to humanity, God communicates Himself to man in the most perfect manner. Therefore there is no repugnance, but the most perfect harmony, in this union.

Jesus as a witness is irreproachable. He swore to His testimony, His moral sanctity was perfect, He was competent to testify, His testimony was concerning that which was to benefit others; in giving it He antagonised others, and finally He lay down His life to seal it. This is a witness indeed, before whose testimony every reasonable man must bend the knee.

In the sixth lecture the difficulties of the act of faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ claim attention.

"There are two sorts of truths—those we can demonstrate by intrinsic evidence, and those we can demonstrate extrinsically. The former are clear; the second remain, in spite of their manifest credibility, in the shade of mystery. In the first the evidence is such that the intellect is vanquished and bound in subjection; men cannot but accept them."

The divinity of Jesus Christ is a truth wherein the intrinsic evidence is not given. It is declared by a witness—Jesus Himself—and confirmed by evident exterior signs; but this witness and these signs do not prove it, they only give it credibility. Human intelligence is convinced and overcome by evidence alone. Hence, where such evidence does not exist, the will must overmaster the mind, and compel it to give credence to the trustworthy witness, notwithstanding the mystery which surrounds the truth to which he testifies.

"In certain cases, then, evidence is supreme, in others testimony. In the second class the will must sway the intellect, because the witness is credible; but if the will does not bear sway, faith will not exist. The will of many does not command the assent of reason; hence, unbelief in the divinity of Jesus."

Their refusal to believe is most inconsistent and unreasonable, because men at all times have admitted the value of the testimony of reliable witnesses to establish facts, and to deny it is to deny all facts of history. If we accept extrinsic proof at all—if we admit any part of history—we must accept the testimony of Christ, we must accept His divinity.

In the midst of doubt and denial we have always one grand, living witness of this great truth.

"In this night of the end of the nineteenth century, against this night of God, against the murky sky—a sky darkened by the thick dust raised by human toil—you may see the great Church of God arise and stand. It is the column of fire which tells you that light has not gone out. When men—too much occupied with earth and with themselves—darken the world, there always remains to guide them on the road, and to show them the good, the eternal light of God shining through the darkness of humanity, as stars shine through the clouds of heaven."

The seventh lecture is not, strictly speaking, a part of the course, for it is a Good Friday sermon on the seven words of Jesus on the cross.

The eighth lecture points out the practical means for believing in the divinity of Jesus Christ.

"As science and philosophy, morals and education, art and politics have their proper methods and processes, so faith has its own. We may go further, and say that the processes of science and philosophy, morals and education, the methods of art and politics, are not within the power of everybody, while the processes and means of belief belong to all; for all the world can and ought to aspire to belief."

In speaking of means of belief, we do not refer to that divine, supernatural succor called grace, nor do we speak of that larger, tranquil body of believers who have inherited faith and nourished it; but we consider only those natures that hesitate, are indifferent, claim the right to reflect, to argue, and to be a law to themselves.

For such persons there exist means of belief. The first is to read the Gospels in a connected manner and frequently—not with a critical spirit, not with the imagination, but with the conscience. This will bring us into direct and personal relation with Christ.

As a result of this close personal union, Christ will teach us that we must renounce self and become poor in spirit; the rest is easy.—J. P. T.

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THE FIRST DIVORCE OF HENRY VIII., AS TOLD IN THE STATE PAPERS. By *Mrs. Hope*. Edited, with notes and introduction, by *Francis Aidan Gasquet, D.D., O.S.B.* London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1894.

A new publication from the pen of so gifted and conscientious a writer as the late Mrs. Hope would be in any circumstance an important event in English Catholic circles; but the worth of the book before us is much enhanced by the fact that, owing to the decease of the authoress before completing her work, the labor of editing devolved upon the great Benedictine historian, Dom Gasquet, to whose transcendent merits a due tribute of praise was rendered in the July number of the REVIEW. However deeply, therefore, we deplore the loss of one who had deserved so well of English-speaking lovers of historical truth, we can scarcely be expected to agree with Dom Gasquet that "it is unfortunate that she did not live to complete it," since the delicate labor of a final revision devolved upon one who acknowledgedly is one of the princes of living Catholic historians. Dom Gasquet's share in the authorship of the work has been so large that, with the limitations which he has taken care to point out, we shall feel justified in appealing to the

authority of his great name whenever we shall have occasion to quote from it.

"My first care," he tells us, "was thoroughly to revise it and to examine and verify every statement by reference to the authority quoted. Besides this, on reflection, I have thought it well to add notes giving some indication of the nature and dates of the documents cited. Speaking generally, therefore, the notes throughout the volume may be regarded as mine."

As we are not ambitious to "paint the rose" or (what would be quite as foolish) to improve upon the deliberate judgment of Dom Gasquet in a matter of English church history, we are not ashamed, after a careful perusal of the volume, to give our appreciation of the book in the very words of its learned editor.

"The chief merit of the work is that it tells the plain, unvarnished story of Henry's divorce from Katherine, disentangled from the various other events and courses of action, foreign and domestic, of the period, by which the marriage question is generally obscured. It relies entirely upon the original documents as published in the various calendars of state papers and other contemporary authorities, and the reader may see at once upon what ground any given statement is made. It is true that, taken as a whole, this tale of intrigues and negotiations and delays reads more like the recital of a feverish dream than sober history. The crisis, always imminent, seems never to advance, and to those unacquainted with Tudor methods the story may well appear incredible. In reality, however, it states fairly and without embellishment the devious paths by which Henry VIII. attained his end at last and divorced his first wife, Katherine, in order to marry Anne Boleyn."

Whilst commending Mrs. Hope's study as "a full and accurate account of this strange episode," the able editor makes "a slight reservation" as to the action of the English bishops in the Convocation of 1531, when they acknowledged the "Supreme Headship" of the English monarch. The author "quite excusably, and following most writers on the subject," had stated that Henry agreed to accept the fine to be paid for their *præmunire* by Convocation "only on condition that in the preamble of the bill, clauses acknowledging him as sole Supreme Head of the church and clergy of England, and giving him absolute spiritual jurisdiction and legislative power, should be inserted."

Dom Gasquet, in opposition to this current view of the transaction, draws attention to the fact that "even in the clauses originally proposed by the royal agents the grant of 'legislative power' is not so much as mentioned, and the idea of any spiritual jurisdiction in the king is involved rather than expressed." He then, at some length, narrates the whole incident and proves that the English bishops refused to resign to the crown the coveted acknowledgement of royal spiritual jurisdiction. That they were, with the exception of the saintly Bishop Fisher, too solicitous for the preservation of life and royal favor is not denied; that the crown aimed at and finally secured the spiritual supremacy is notorious. But it is not true, as is commonly supposed, that the successors of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Becket apostatized from Catholic truth at the first assault of the brutal tyrant.

The noblest personality in Mrs. Hope's drama is undoubtedly that of the Roman Pontiff. To those whose acquaintance with the character of Pope Clement VII. has been formed in the pages of Guicciardini and Ranke, the Clement of the present volume, or rather of the original documents which it quotes, will be quite a new revelation. From first to last, he shows as an ideal Pope, gentle yet firm, neither cowed by



menaces nor cajoled by flattery to abandon the path of duty and justice. Blunt Henry's (Shakespearean) abhorrence of the "dilatatory sloth and tricks of Rome," appears in a ludicrous light when it is demonstrated that the Pope was, throughout, anxious to bring the affair to a speedy issue, and that the delays, prevarications and "tricks" all emanated from Henry and his agents. The only incident which might possibly have been more clearly explained, and which Dom Gasquet would certainly have dealt with it in a more masculine way, is that of the shadowy "Dogmatic Bull," so formidable in expectation and of such "impo-tent conclusion."

Henry's *first* divorce (the subsequent divorces were simple corollaries of no permanent consequence), will cease to be of present interest only when England shall have atoned for her ruler's sin by exemplary penance. The nation has suffered for generations for its monarch's crime, or rather for its fellowship therein. Books like the one before us, narrating the foul deed dispassionately, just as it happened, will bring the blush of shame to the cheeks of a sobered people, and hasten the day of propitiation.

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HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA TO THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. By *Mary H. Allies*. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1892.

As it is no easy task to compress the history of fifteen centuries into a small-sized volume of three hundred and sixty pages, it is no ordinary praise when we pronounce that Miss Allies has performed her task with consummate skill. With a true perception of historical perspective that does honor to the great name she inherits, she has extracted from the long list of authorities, ancient and modern, which she not only quotes but has evidently deeply studied, the very pith and marrow of the story, and evinces a genuine historical instinct by never losing sight of the vital truth that Catholic England's greatness was owing to her close connection with and filial devotion to the See of St. Gregory and St. Peter.

The entire story of England's civilization can be thrown into a drama in three acts: I. Rome civilizes the Britons. II.—Rome civilizes the Saxons. III.—Rome civilizes the Normans. The work of the Holy See is once and again undone by barbarians; but, with the patience of the industrious bee, Rome ever sets immediately about the task of resuscitating and rebuilding. In no other nation of Europe is what Le Maistre has called the real presence of the Pope so constantly visible as in the England of Catholic times. "From the days of the 'Italian Mission,' sent by St. Gregory," says Miss Allies, in her summing up, "England received her orders and jurisdiction from the Pope. It was the Pope who conferred the pallium on every metropolitan, and through the metropolitan confirmed the election of every bishop. . . . Hierarchies might have failed, and would have failed had it not been for the central See of Christendom; for, in the course of these periods, we have seen arbitrary and cringing metropolitans and worldly bishops. Both were held in check by the successors of St. Gregory the Great, who could judge metropolitans and their suffragans alike. . . . The battle of investitures and of homage, representing the liberty of the Church, was won, no thanks to the bishops, but to St. Anselm and St. Peter. A little later, another archbishop, also alone, appealed to the Holy See in almost the very words of St. Anselm. St. Thomas fell, but the cause lived; the hierarchy deserted him to a man. . . . St. Thomas and the Pope saved the Church in England from becoming the handmaid of the

State ; for, at that time, the king represented the State. Innocent III., on the other hand, maintained the royal power even when vested in the person of King John, against rebellious barons, whilst it must not be forgotten that Cardinal Langton, the popular champion, was the Pope's nomination for which England had suffered an interdict. . . . There was only one faith in England, one sacrifice, one priesthood, all resting upon the person of Peter." Yes, and when, through the pusillanimous connivance of the English bishops, the authority of St. Peter was undermined by the Tudors, faith, sacrifice, and priesthood perished from the land as completely as in the days of the pagan Saxons—perished in spite of the efforts made by Henry, Elizabeth, James and Charles, to keep from further dissolution the fair form which had been deprived of the vivifying soul.

An undercurrent of deep melancholy runs through the recital of Catholic England's glorious struggles and triumphs from the prevision that they are destined to issue in disastrous failure ; and it is no wonder the historian's pen drops from her hand when the fatal catastrophe is reached. Yet the tale has its moral applicable to all times. That moral is the utter incompatibility of religious liberty and progress with such a union of Church and State as has existed in England since the Conquest. The Tudors were no worse than the Plantagenets. If the Tudors were more successful in their efforts at effacing the slightest vestige of ecclesiastical liberty, it was because the Plantagenet line had crushed out the manly independence which had distinguished the saintly heroes of the twelfth century, and had left Henry VIII. to contend with Wolseys and Warhams instead of Anselms and Becket. Henry's sacrilegious burning of St. Thomas's bones puts on the semblance of respectability when compared with the stupid abuse which has been heaped upon the memory of the illustrious martyr by "bishops" who were conscious they have no share in his inheritance of glory.

We extend a hearty welcome to Miss Allie's timely little book. It will do more good to the multitude, whose leisure is limited, than many a large folio. In order that so valuable a volume should be in every way perfect, we beg to draw the author's attention to two (possibly typographical) errors, which we noticed in reading : (p. 165) St. Gilbert of Sempringham was born about 1090 ; (p. 281) the Pope elected at Pisa, as the whole Church has reason to remember, was Alexander V. Felix V., the last of the anti-Popes, was the simulacrum set up by the expiring schism at Basle.

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WAS THE APOSTLE PETER EVER AT ROME? A Critical Examination of the Evidence and Arguments Presented on Both Sides of the Question, By *Rev. Mason Gallagher, D.D.* Introduction by Rev. John Hall, D.D., Pastor Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York. New York: Printed by Hunt & Eaton, 150 Fifth Avenue. 1894. Price, \$1.00.

The QUARTERLY begs to return sincere thanks to Messrs. Hunt & Eaton for their courtesy in sending this publication. If its contents are not to our liking, this is not the fault of the publishers, who have done their part of the work in excellent taste. We consider that it is the correct thing for publishers of religious books, of whatever denomination, to give a wide publicity to their productions by bringing them to the notice even of those who shall not be much pleased or flattered by the reading of them. We believe that, in the long run, truth will prevail ; and we dislike the notion, in a country such as ours, of confining one's reading public to sects or sections. As for the Catholic Church, she has been set up as "a sign to be contradicted." One must

be a very poor sophist if he cannot find something or other, either in her ritual, her dogmas, or her twenty centuries of history, to carp at with arguments more or less plausible.

The book before us could not be written by any one, at the present day, who had a reputation to lose. In learned ecclesiastical circles, within and without the Church, the coming of St. Peter to Rome, and the importance of that event in the historical development of Roman supremacy, are things as well established as the Copernican system. But even as Brother Jaspers may still be found, who maintain stoutly, and quote scriptural authority for their statement, that "the sun do move," so does Protestantism conveniently retain, for the purpose of its anti-Roman crusade, a brigade of champions with lusty lungs and brains impervious to critical light, who go on serenely grinding out objections refuted a thousand times by Catholics, and abandoned as worthless by the better class of Protestants. Yet, we cannot afford to ignore these books "of the baser sort," for they circulate largely among the vulgar, that is, precisely among the class which still retains some vestige, however perverted, of Christian faith. Many a Protestant pulpit will, no doubt, re-echo the diatribe of Rev. Mason Gallagher, D.D., with amplifications more or less "calm and dispassionate."

Now, the first thing which has struck us on opening the volume is the gingerly way in which Rev. Dr. Hall "cordially commends the book to careful study." Dr Hall is evidently far from being convinced that his *protégé* has made out a case against the Catholics. The most he seems to claim is, that "the historical evidence at so many points suggest the verdict 'not proven.'" This is certainly putting the question far more "calmly and dispassionately" than the author has stated it. But then Rev. Dr. Hall has a reputation to stake. It is amusing, too, to notice with what varying shades of emphasis the Protestant witnesses adduced by Dr. Gallagher bear their testimony against St. Peter's coming to Rome. "It has not been satisfactorily proved," says one. "It is far from certain," says a second. "Even if we allow that Peter was actually in Rome," etc., says a third. "It is a matter of doubt," says a fourth.—"From beginning to end it is a fiction." "Peter never was in Rome." "It is plain as the sun at noonday that he never was there." "It is an arrant fable." "It is a monstrous absurdity," cry out the sturdier ones.

We wish to protest, in our turn, against Dr. Gallagher's strange mixing together of two things so distinct as faith and theological science. Millions believe firmly in the Roman Pontificate of St. Peter, and its consequences, without being able to sift the value of the testimonies by which these tenets can be proved. Even if Protestants could make out their case, that "there is no historic proof that Peter founded the Church in Rome," this would not make a single true Catholic waver in his faith; for we *believe* this and every other doctrine of faith on the authority of Holy Church. It is not true, therefore, that the burden of proof lies upon us. It lies upon those who presume to assert that Christ's Holy Church has erred in what all concede to be a fundamental article. From time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, the Roman Pontiff has sat on the Rock of Peter; and surely it is now an insane task to attempt to unseat him by merely negative arguments. So much for faith. If the question be approached from a scientific standpoint, we must discuss it "calmly and dispassionately," like any other historical fact, and free from the theological bias which disfigures Dr. Gallagher's book from beginning to end. Historical evidence is mainly accumulative. It will not do to take the intimations of Ignatius, Clement, Caius, Papias, and a hundred others, all pointing in



the same direction, and endeavor to break them as so many separate sticks. They are bundled together; and bound together they neither break nor bend. The straits to which Protestant writers against Romanism are driven, especially now that their ablest writers have openly given up the contention that St. Peter was never in Rome, is shown by the (we must call it) scurrilous language in which Dr. Gallagher sees fit to indulge when speaking of the Fathers of the Church. He reminds us of a pettifogging lawyer striving to bolster up a desperate case by browbeating the witnesses. If Protestantism can stand such champions, we surely have no reason to complain. We only fear that some intelligent non-Catholic reader will be tempted to suspect that Dr. Gallagher, with his unmistakably Hibernian name, may be a Jesuit in disguise. We remember reading, some time since, of a Brooklyn divine named Gallagher, who startled the world with the discovery that "the Irish are not guided by reason but by impulse." If our author should turn out to be identical with this brilliant discoverer, his example will go a great way towards explaining if not justifying the paradoxical remark.

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LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS BORGIA S. J. By *A. M. Clarke*. London: Burns & Oates. 1894.

This is one of the best specimens of hagiography we have ever seen. The story is so well told and the career of Don Francis Borgia, who was Duke of Gandia, Viceroy of Catalonia and later the 3d general of the Society of Jesus, was so extraordinary that when one has taken up this story of his life it is difficult to lay it down. His grandfather Don Pedro Borja, son of Cardinal Rodrigo Borja afterward Pope Alexander VI., was probably as Dr. Pastor says, born to the future pope before his father's ordination to the priesthood, for those were the evil days when for reasons of State or shameful nepotism laymen were raised to the Cardinalate. The Saint, who with his ancestors, is better known under his Italianized name of Borgia was of a very ancient Aragonese family remarkable for great personal beauty and even in those days of chivalric daring for extraordinary personal courage. It gave two popes to the Church, Calixtus II., the leading spirit in organizing Europe against the Turks and in breaking their power by the great victory over them at Belgrade on August 6, 1456, and Alexander VI., who, however great his vices as Cardinal, which we may be sure Dr. Pastor will not hide in his forthcoming life, was, so far as we know, blameless after his elevation to the tiara, and a ruler whose intelligence, prudence and foresight were of no common order. The subject of this book was the only one of the family, after these two, to make the name famous outside of Spain. He was of great personal beauty like all his race; "the new Apollo," he was called, and of such extraordinary nerve, will and courage that he was called by his contemporaries "the king of men."

He was first in everything he undertook to do; a fine musician whose compositions were famous in his time and are yet prized in Spain, an excellent mathematician from whom his Emperor, Charles V., said he learned more and better than he did from the best professors; of such weight in council that no man had more of the confidence of his sovereign, and of such skill and courage in battle that Charles prophesied of him that he would be the first general of his day; and yet amid all these great qualities, he was pious, pure, mortified and humble, was never known to offend modesty by word, look or action, and went to his married life with unwasted manhood. His first meeting with St. Ignatius of

Loyola, his future director, is well told by our author: so too is the account of the Saint's trials and struggles, the growth in him of the resolve to give up his splendid station and to become a humble religious. But there is so much to say and his life gives the lie so completely to so many worldly men and women who say they cannot lead perfect Christian lives in the world of society and politics and war and statesmanship that it cannot be treated properly in the limits of a book-notice. We hope in the January number to have an article on him, his work as a man of the world and a Jesuit, and on the society of which he was so illustrious a member.

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LIFE OF THE BLESSED ANTONY BALDINUCCI, S. J. By *Francis Goldie, S. J.* London: Burns & Oates, 1894.

It is a saint of another stamp whose life is herein depicted—one of the many whose devoted lives made and kept the Italians for so many centuries devoted to the Church. The son of a Florentine notary and his wife, both of ancient lineage and pious, he made his studies with the Jesuits in the College of San Giovanni, where his docility and ability won for him the love of his teachers. Self-forgetfulness and devotion to duty marked him from his earliest years. Scarcely had he attained his fourteenth year before he yearned for the higher life in the practice of the evangelical virtues of poverty, chastity and obedience. The great sin of his young days was that once he went fishing in a ditch at the risk of his health. Yet he was a joyous, laughing, cheerful, happy boy, making others happy about him; strong of character, too, as the picture of him shows, whose happiness, even in his youthful austerities, sprang from that peace of soul which accompanies a good conscience. He made his novitiate in San Andrea del Quirinale, once the home of many saints, but now, alas! no more. His master of novices, a man who had been at the head of several provinces and knew men well, said his life there was as that of an angel from heaven. His life, even then, was modelled on that of his Divine Master—a life of voluntary penance, unintelligible, and even barbarous, in the eye of the weak and yielding, but well known by strong characters as necessary to self-conquest in the little things of which most lives are made up, and much more so in great emergencies of trial and temptation. The rule of life he then made for himself was heroic, young though he was, and he was faithful to it. It broke his constitution and ruined his health, and it was with difficulty that he could continue his studies on that account. But wise superiors saw the finger of God there, and seem to have put but little restraint on his enthusiasm. But even when so ill that his life was despaired of, he yearned and begged for the work of the foreign mission, where he hoped to die a martyr for the faith. Even when thus suffering, he was a devoted teacher, as fun-loving and mirthful as the boys of his grammar class, and ready always, in what time he was free from his studies, to care for the sick—always many in a community of 150. His ability was such that, in spite of all this, he was able to make a public defence of his theses and to pass the final examination in philosophy and theology.

But it was in his missionary work that our saint's virtues were seen to the best advantage. He always made his journeys on foot. He was looked for and longed for as if he were the Messiah, and no matter how much of a hell was the place he was sent to, he left it a very heaven of peace. His food was always of vegetables—corn or beans—and wine and wormwood. Yet he would not allow his companions to imitate

him in this, but made them eat meat and other food. One who tried to do so was forced, after one day, to take to his bed. After the eighteen or twenty hours' labors of the day were over, he went to his room to pray, and was often found three or four hours afterwards on his knees, with arms outstretched in prayer. When he did lie down, it was on the bare boards after he had disciplined himself to blood. He arose about 1 or 2 A.M., and made his meditation, then to church, where he found people awaiting him. This was his life for eight years. No wonder that the fruit of his mission was extraordinary—that even the most hardened yielded to him, and that, wherever he went, he renewed the face of the earth. Miracles attended his landing—that of the falling leaves was witnessed by many thousands. Nor did he confine himself to spiritual and the ordinary temporal works of mercy, but knowing from experience, as well as by faith, that idleness is the root of all sin (p. 81), “he established hand-loom for cloth-making, and taught the poor people this useful way to better themselves, so that simple peasants, born in the campagna, attained as great a skill as workmen who had been trained in factories.” Most probably this was one of the bases of the charges made against the Jesuits of trading, although no profit came to him or his order, but we may be sure that the middle class, whose overcharging was thus checked, were not slow to calumniate him and his brethren—so hard is it for many men to believe that any man, or body of men, is unselfish.

Hardly was he laid in his grave before God began to work wonders in his honor, ninety-one of which are on record in the summary of the process. The examination of them was begun in 1723 less than two years after his death, and so many witnesses came forward at Rome, Sezze and Florence, that not until 1753 could their testimony be submitted to the Congregation of Rites. Then Benedict XIV. waived in the saint's favor the law that forbade the question of the heroic sanctity of a servant of God to be brought before the congregation until fifty years after his death. Then the Society of Jesus was suppressed; the cause of Blessed Anthony, as of so many others, was postponed indefinitely, until, in 1873, under Pius IX., our saint's virtues were declared heroic, and Leo XIII., on the Feast of St. George, 1893, declared that the humble and laborious Antony Baldinucci should receive the honors of beatification. Read F. Goldie's book. It is very well written, indeed.

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A PRACTICAL COMMENTARY ON HOLY SCRIPTURE FOR THE USE OF CATECHISTS AND TEACHERS. By *Frederick Justus Knecht, D.D.*, Auxiliary Bishop of the Archdiocese of Freiburg. Translated from the tenth German edition, with a Preface by Rev. Michael F. Glancey. 2 vols. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder, 17 South Broadway. Price, \$3.75, net.

Father Glancey, who holds the responsible position of Inspector of Schools in the Diocese of Birmingham, frankly confesses that in the matter of teaching Christian doctrine and Bible history Germany is far in advance of anything which England or America has to show. Of the German catechetical writers, prominent among whom is Dr. Knecht, the author of the present “Practical Commentary,” he writes: “These writers have done what in them lay to elevate catechetics into a science, and to build it up from a solid foundation.” “And where do we stand in England?” he asks. “Have we so much as grasped the truth that catechetics is a science at all? On looking into the dictionary, I found, indeed, the word catechetics, but it was marked with an obelus, or death mark, to show that it was either dying or dead.” Father Glancey does not contend that there is a lack of earnestness in the teaching of Chris-



tian doctrine in England, or that experienced teachers have not attained any measure of success. But his contention is that an improvement in tools and methods would be fruitful of greater results. Passing over his admirable suggestions in the domain of general catechetics, which, however, we strongly recommend to the attention of teachers, we come to that branch which treats of Bible history. What is the object of teaching children the history of the Bible? Endorsing Dr. Knecht's principle that "Catechism and Bible history must mutually interpenetrate, for only in this way is a systematic course of religious instruction possible," Father Glancey holds it as clear "that Bible history is not to be read, as too often it is, merely as a story-book; that it is to be studied, not on its own account, but because it imparts life and vigor, picturesqueness and comprehensiveness to religious instruction; because it elucidates, proves, enforces and illustrates the truths that go to make up religious instruction. The key-note of Dr. Knecht's method of presenting the sacred story to children is, therefore, that it must be "taught in the closest connection with the catechism," or, in Father Glancey's words, "Catechism and Bible history must go hand in hand, but catechism must be in the van. Catechism is the guiding principle and Bible history its handmaid."

In the practical working out of this principle the translator advocates the abandonment of the chronological system of teaching Bible history. In the current method he notices that oftentimes "while children are being instructed in the Holy Eucharist, their Scripture history turns on that singularly uninspiring period embraced by the reigns of the kings of Israel and Juda." His method, on the contrary, would be, whilst children are studying the Blessed Eucharist, to teach Bible history after the following plan:

I.—Types of the Holy Eucharist:

1. The Sacrifice of Melchisedech.
2. The Paschal Lamb.
3. The Manna.
4. The Food of Elias.
5. The Jewish Sacrifices.

II.—The Prophecy of Malachias.

III.—Christ Promises a New Sacrifice:

1. At Jacob's Well.
2. After the Multiplication of the Loaves.

IV.—The Last Supper—Institution of the Blessed Eucharist.

V.—The Two Disciples Going to Emmaus.

VI.—Miracles Illustrative of the Blessed Eucharist:

1. Water Made Wine at Cana.
2. Multiplication of Loaves.
3. Christ Walking on the Waters.
4. The Transfiguration.

In a similar manner he would treat the important subject of the Church and all the other great doctrines of our faith.

We have said enough to excite the interest of our pastors and all others who have at heart the religious education of our youth. We have no doubt that the introduction of this truly scientific method would be productive of immediate and great results. To facilitate the use of the book in the teaching of the catechism, a valuable "Concordance between the Holy Scripture and Catechism" is printed at the end by way of appendix, thus enabling the teacher to group the study of Scripture about that of the catechism.

We congratulate the publisher upon the typographical neatness of the

two volumes. We might be permitted to remark, however, that since the work is intended for use by teachers, space might have been saved by omitting the 108 illustrations, which are not of great service to adults.

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MELODIES OF MOOD AND TENSE. By *Charles H. A. Esling, A.M., LL.B.* Philadelphia: Charles H. Walsh, 1894.

"A new volume of poems"—but the friends of the poet will be gratified to learn that very many of the poems in this beautiful collection are not unfamiliar faces. Mr. Esling has collected and arranged, in logical divisions, the many poems of many places, of many moods and many memories, which justify his peculiar title of "*Melodies of Mood and Tense.*" Part I. is devoted to "*Songs of the Seasons.*" The dancing dactyls of the "*Roundel for Rosetime*" suggest the picture so directly painted in the last stanza:

"The pole of the May time  
We're rounding in gay time,  
Our souls keeping tune as its meshes we thread,"

and have had appropriate musical setting in the 6-8 measures of the rhythmic melody of Prof. Clarke, printed in the Appendix to the volume. The many romantic sites that even a lazy pull on the upper Schuylkill can bring into view, like a vision of fairy-land, find commemoration in the two "*Boat Songs on the Schuylkill River,*" until the reader half fancies himself a dreaming occupant of the gliding "*Arachne,*" the "*buoyant shell*" that can knit together, with invisible strands of spidery magic, the lovely banks of the stream into a continuous web of enchantment and repose:

"I glide and gloat—  
A water mote—  
Upon my spinning insect boat;  
A wingèd bliss  
That spring, I wis,  
From Junetide's sheathing chrysalis.

"In lucent strands,  
With magic hands,  
She taketh hold of misty things;  
From golden beams  
She builds, like dreams,  
Air-palaces of fairy kings."

In Part II. the poet fulfills his prophetic selection of a motto from Austin Dobson:

"Here be spaces meet for song."

Saco River, Mossy Brook, "*I the merry Merrimac,*" and many more haunts of the poet, furnish appropriate suggestion for song and madrigal.

Part III. is devoted to "*Personal Poems,*" with a just motto from Mr. Dobson:

"Here, as everywhere, one sees  
Ranks, conditions, and degrees."

Several quaint conceits have been embodied in Part IV. "*In lighter vein: Vers de Société.*" Read, for examples, "*Dans la Serre: au Bal Masqué*" and "*A Gay Quakeress.*"

Part V. is devoted to "Memorial Poems:"

"Here be shadows large and long."

And in very deed the shadows are both large and long cast over many a devout Catholic heart by the death of the worthy men and women commemorated here. Fathers Barbelin, and Dunn, and Sourin, and Rev. Dr. Moriarty—these are names not easily forgotten by Philadelphians.

In Part VI., "Poems for Special Occasions," Mr. Esling has collected many "occasional" verses, which will serve to keep alive a memory of past events, dear, doubtless, to many hearts. As they refer to themes of less general interest, we shall content ourselves with a mention merely of one, "The Ride of the Royal Wraith," which, because it is a tribute to the "crownless king of the hearts of men"—our grand Washington—and because it is conceived and executed in a loftier strain, cannot fail to awaken the interest of the general reader.

Part VII. contains a selection of Mr. Esling's miscellaneous poems. We have found his poems on "Haydn" and "An Incident in Fairmount Park" of special interest.

Part VIII. is devoted to translations from the Latin, Italian, French, and Greek. We need not speak in commendation of his translations from the Latin, as Mr. Esling became very early known as a painstaking student, loving admirer, and felicitous translator of hymns from the Roman Missal and Breviary.

In conclusion, we venture to come down to the rather prosaic matter of typography and illustrations. But the poetic atmosphere lingers around us still, and we can only refer to the letter-press, the illustrations, and the binding as another *poem* in a figurative sense.

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THE DISEASES OF THE WILL. By *Th. Ribot*, Professor of Psychology in the Collège de France. Authorized translation from the eighth French edition, by Merwin Marie Snell. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company. 1894. Pp. vi., 134. Price, 75 cents.

M. Ribot's avowed object in his study of the pathology of the human will is to throw new light on the will in its normal condition. The reader who follows his leading may pick up some facts, quaint and curious, regarding the derangements of the organism which go along with abnormal volition, but will gain no new knowledge as to the volitional *faculty* itself. The word *faculty* is, as every one knows, a term very distasteful to M. Ribot, implying as it does one of those "metaphysical entities" which are the stock-in-trade of "the old psychology" he so thoroughly despises. We, therefore, use the term in deference to his prejudices as designating simply "a state of consciousness," though common sense, language and a sound philosophy demand for it a deeper meaning. "How can an idea produce movement? That is a question which very much embarrassed the old psychology, but which becomes simple when the facts are considered in their true nature" (p. 5). Our author finds the "simplicity" in a mere "*negō suppositum*." "The volition that subjective psychologists have so often observed, analysed and commented upon, is for us only a simple state of consciousness. It is merely an effect of that psycho-physiological activity, so often described, only a part of which enters into consciousness. . . . Furthermore, *it is not the cause of anything*. The acts and movements which follow it result directly from the tendencies, feelings, images and ideas which have become co-ordinated in the form of a choice. It is from this group that



all efficacy comes. . . . If one insists on making the will a faculty, an entity, all becomes obscurity, perplexity, contradiction. . . . One does not have to ask oneself, like Hume and so many others, how an 'I will' can make my members more.

"This is a mystery which need not be cleared up, since it does not exist as *volition*, is in no degree a cause. It is in the natural tendency of feelings and images to express themselves that the secret of acts produced should be sought" (p. 133). The inquiring reader will naturally ask—how does M. Ribot know all this—that volition is not causative, that the movements which follow its wake are not its effects? Pathology doubtless shows that when the machinery in the organism is out of gear the will is impotent to *cause movement* but to find out whether the "I will" is causative in the normal state of the body, one, even the "new psychologist" must use the same medium of knowledge as the "old psychologist," namely, *introspection*; and this "messenger from within" testifies unerringly that the will is self-determinative and *causative* of other movement, organic and psychic. No physiology or psychology has yet given the lie to this datum of consciousness.

M. Ribot professes to carry on his research "without touching on the inextricable problem" of the will's freedom; to place his subject in such light as to be equally acceptable to the determinists and their adversaries and reconcilable with either hypothesis; to conduct his researches in such a manner that the absence of any solution of this point (freedom) will not even so much as once be noticed" (p. 2). Between this profession, however, and the actual working out of the author's thesis there is decided contradiction. The whole weight of his thought falls against the freedom of the will, and accounts for his express approval, towards the end, of Spinoza's dictum: "Our illusion of free will is only ignorance of the motives which make us act" (p. 111), and, indeed, in the other popular books. One could wish to find in a scientific work of this kind, from the same hand, more of that moderation in statement, more of that regard for the views of other minds, which characterizes the real scholar.

The translation is well wrought in clear English, a better dress than the original merits.

F. P. S.

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MONUMENTA GERMANIAE PAEDAGOGICA, SCHULORDUNGEN SCHULBÜCHER UND PAEDAGOGISCHE MISCELLANEEN ANS DEN LÄNDEN DEUTSCHER ZUNGE. Unter Mitwirkung Einer Anrath von Fachgelehrten herausgegeben von *Karl Kerbach*, Band XVI. *Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae Societatis Jesu* 4. Berlin: A. Hofman & Co. 1849. Pp. xviii., 621, p. 15, MK.

The series of original documents and historical monographs bearing on German educational systems, whereof the present volume forms a part, is a monument as well to the scholars who founded and perfected the systems as to those who have undertaken the work of compiling, editing, and narrating their history. Amongst the sixteen volumes thus far published are Dr. Günther's work on the "History of Mathematical Instruction in Mediæval Germany"; three large volumes on the "History of German Military Education and Discipline," by Colonel Boten. A special volume is devoted to the catechetical and pedagogical work of the Bohemian Brothers; another to that of Melancthon; another to the original documents relating to the "History of Education Amongst the Jews up to the Days of Mendelsohn."

The mention of these volumes will show the breadth of plan adopted by the originators of the series. What, however, will most interest

Catholics of every nationality is the new edition, completed by the volume before us, of the famous "Ratio Studiorum" of the Jesuits. The collecting and editing of the material bearing on this great work was entrusted to Father Pachter, S. J. Death, however, stopped the builder's hand at the end of the third part; and the fourth, the crown of the work, was added by Fr. Duhr, S. J. It is no small praise to say that here, indeed, *finis coronat opus*.

The original design in republishing the "Jesuit Plan of Studies" had been to extend the work to six volumes, so as to include the pedagogical writings of Fathers Sacchin, Jouvancy and Kropf on the German gymnasia. As, however, recent editions of the latter writings had been published, it was thought better to limit the work to its present dimensions, giving space only to the more important and interesting portions of Kropf's "Ratio et Via."

The volume before us falls into three main parts, dealing respectively with the early Jesuit gymnasial systems, boarding-schools and ecclesiastical seminaries, and the modern "Ratio Studiorum" of 1832.

The first part contains instructions as to the boarders' means and methods of gymnasial instruction, regulations for perfecting the teacher, provisions to be made for poor but worthy pupils, etc. The second part treats of the national or economic side of the boarding establishments, including herein diocesan seminaries. The third part is directed to the various changes introduced by the new plan of studies adopted in 1832, and to the modifications since given to the latter.

This new and we might say almost perfect collection of pedagogical documents ought to go far to beat down old prejudices and to win a more favorable appreciation of the Jesuit system of education, even amongst those non-Catholics who are in other respects, because of ignorance, of course, not friendly towards the Society. No fairly-disposed man can read the old "Ratio Studiorum" without being impressed, if not astonished, by the broad culture, the far-seeing prudence, the practical wisdom of these early giants who reared this, for their day, perfect monument; an impression which will be deepened by the perusal of the modern plan. For in the latter he will see how the Jesuit educator has let no sign of progress escape his notice, but whilst retaining the elements of mind and character-building that change not with time, has wisely assimilated to his system such factors as are required by the newer learning. No one interested in pedagogy can afford to be ignorant of the contents of this volume; and for those whose vocation it is to direct educational work, its far-reaching, prudent ordinances as to professor, teacher, machinery and methods, will prove invaluable.

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L'HOMME-SINGE ET LES PRÉCURSEURS D'ADAM EN FACE DE LA SCIENCE ET DE LA THÉOLOGIE. Par *Fr. Dierckx, S. J.* Pp. 124. Société Belge de Librairie, 16 Rue Treuremberg, Bruxelles.

This interesting brochure is composed of articles which have appeared in that justly celebrated quarterly, *Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, and will repay perusal on the part of those who are interested in the questions which it discusses. During the past few decades much has been written regarding the man-ape, but we cannot recall a single work which deals with the subject in a more masterly manner than the one before us. From beginning to end it is a marvel of condensation and cogent reasoning. Father Dierckx is thoroughly familiar with his topic in all its phases and never blinks a difficulty, however great it may appear. He examines the teachings of Darwin and Hæckel respecting

the animal origin of man, and finds that, when not manifestly absurd, they are based on assumptions for which there is no scientific warrant. He questions geologists and palæontologists and shows that their testimony, far from making for the theory of man's animal origin, decidedly negatives it, so far as any positive evidence is available. He interrogates anatomists and physiologists, and learns that their findings in the question mooted are of one with those of geologists and palæontologists.

Throughout the book thoroughly absorbs the attention of the reader. Indeed, there is not a single dull paragraph in it. To our mind, however, by far the most interesting and instructive chapter is the last, which treats of *L'Homme Singe et Les Précurseurs d'Adam en Face de la Théologie*. Herein he shows that the vogue which transformism has obtained is due not to the scientific evidence which can be adduced in its favor, but rather to the fact that it is supposed to disprove the doctrine of creation and to make against the necessity of a personal creator. Transformation, as taught by Hæckel, Darwin and Huxley, is either atheistic or agnostic, and with the unthinking and anti-religious many it is popular because it is atheistic and agnostic.

Every reader will be interested in the entertaining account which the learned Jesuit gives of Pre-Adamites, as conceived by Père Valroger, the Abbé Favre d'Envieu, and Père Monsabré. This account, together with the discussion respecting Mivart's celebrated theory of the evolution of man, *quoad corpus*, exhibits in a brilliant light the liberty of thought which the Church permits her children in all questions which do not trench on faith or dogma. Indeed, one of the most commendable features of Father Dierckx's timely study is its liberal Catholic tone. While thoroughly orthodox, he respects the opinions of those with whom he does not agree, and is willing to leave to the future the decision of questions on which the Church has not yet pronounced, and which can be decided by science only when far more data are available than we possess at present. Mivart's theory—which the well-known Dominican, Père Leroy, has endorsed—may be true; but, in the present state of the controversy, there seem to be almost insuperable philosophical and theological—not to say scientific—objections against it. The author quotes, with approval, the opinion of the erudite Cardinal Gonzales concerning Mivart's theory, and we can do no better than transcribe his Eminence's words: "I shall not," he says, "qualify with any unfavorable note the opinion of the English theologian, as long as it shall be respected, or, at least, tolerated by the Church, the sole judge competent to fix and qualify theologico-dogmatic assertions, and to decide positively regarding its compatibility or incompatibility with Holy Scriptures."

It goes without saying, that we cordially recommend Father Dierckx's clever brochure. It is thoroughly up to date, and is calculated, if duly circulated, to do much good.

J. A. Z.

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BIBLE, SCIENCE AND FAITH. By Rev. J. A. Zahm, C.S.C. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1894. Price, \$1.25.

Only those who have had the good fortune to attend the lectures given at the Catholic Summer School of America, can rightly estimate the importance of this new movement among the American Catholics. For one reason or another, the desire so widely expressed of having the lectures reproduced in a permanent shape through the press has been but sparingly complied with. This book of the able Professor of Physics in Notre Dame University, which is substantially a repetition of his lectures in Plattsburgh last year, may, therefore, be regarded as a feeler



thrown out to discover the sincerity of the demand for the printing of the Summer School lectures; if successful, it may incite other lecturers to follow his example. We welcome the book moreover, because a perusal of it will go far towards effacing the erroneous impression, to which the author vaguely alludes (how it originated, it would be hard to tell), that Father Zahm was inclined to entertain novel and radical opinions upon the important questions to which he has devoted so much time and study. If his lectures "furnished both the religious and the secular press with special material for comment and criticism"; if the "complimentary notices" and "friendly spirit" were, at the time, given and displayed "especially by the secular press," this was owing to the misleading reports which were sent abroad, whereby the country was informed that the learned lecturer's utterances were "spreading consternation among the conservative Catholics," and much more to the same effect. The only criticism which any one who followed Father Zahm's course of lectures could with any foundation make, or which was actually made, arose from the prudential consideration whether the case against the anthropological universality of the Deluge had been made out so clearly as to warrant a speaker to proclaim it categorically from a Catholic platform to an audience, a large proportion of which was not prepared to receive it. There are so many edifying topics connected with the study of the Bible that vexed questions can very safely be left out of consideration when one is addressing a promiscuous audience.

We are much pleased to notice that the valuable series of articles contributed by Father Zahm to this REVIEW on "The Age of the Human Race," have, with the accustomed generosity of the proprietor, been permitted to form part of the book. Many of our readers who perused them in these columns will welcome them in their present neat shape. Altogether, we look on this latest work of Professor Zahm as by far the most valuable contribution made by American talent and industry to the cause of Christian apologetics. Father Zahm is still in the prime of life, and with God's blessing will continue for many years to defend the cause of Revelation against the assaults of perverted science.

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THE NATURE OF THE STATE. By *Dr. Paul Carus*. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1894. Pp. vii., 54. Price, 25 cents.

"The mediæval conception (of the State) mainly represented by Thomas Aquinas's work, '*De Rebus Publicis et Principum Institutione*,'—founds the State upon the theological thesis that the government's authority is a divine institution." We find this statement on p. 27 of this little pamphlet. Has Mr. Carus unearthed a new work by S. Thomas Aquinas? The one he cites is not to be found in the *Opera Omnia* of the Angelic Doctor. Does he refer to the "*Opus de Regimine Principum ad Regem Cypri*," part of which is certainly genuine, or to the "*Opusculum de Eruditione Principum*," which is certainly spurious? Perhaps it is unimportant to which he refers, provided he reports the mind of St. Thomas correctly. This he does but partly, the obscurity suggesting the inference that St. Thomas defended the "divine right of kings," which he assuredly did not. This off-handed misquotation of a work might go unnoticed did it not typify the general character of our author's method. There is everywhere dominant that lofty, oracular deciding of great issues which, whilst it is apt to pass with the unwary for real possession of truth, is calculated to set the thoughtful reader to questioning whether there is after all anything solid back of the pro-

nouncements. The suspicion that there is not, turns to conviction when one comes across the vague pantheism which pervades the author's theories—a pantheism which is but thinly veiled by mystical phrase, nor one whit changed in its true inwardness when labelled with the term "*entheism*," "The State is, as the Roman sages thought, based on the *jus naturale*; it is a natural product of evolution and as such it reveals the nature of that *All-power* which religious language hails by the name of God. . . . All facts are a revelation of God; they are parts of God. . . . but the human soul and that moral empire of human souls called the State are more dignified parts of God than the most wonderful phenomena of unorganized nature" (p. 40). This passage alone, similar ones could easily be multiplied, suffices to make good our assertion.

In republishing these papers in their present form, Doctor Carus wishes to do his share towards spreading "broadcast a sound knowledge concerning the State, its main functions and purpose, among all classes of society, especially among those who for some reason find it advisable to struggle and strike for an improvement in their condition" (p. vii.). Fortunately the American people are beyond all things practical, and not likely to accept philosophical theories and work them out to their logical consequences. Otherwise the spreading of teaching such as is contained in this pamphlet would bring about a reign of immorality, crime, universal anarchy.

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WEIZSÄCKER'S APOSTOLICAL AGE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, Theological Translation Library, Vol. I. Edited by T. K. Cheyne, M.A., D.D., Oral Professor of Interpretation, Oxford, and Rev. A. B. Bruce, D.D., Professor of Apologetics, Free Church College, Glasgow. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894.

If, as Mr. Bruce says, this work is "scientific in spirit and reverent in tone," what are we to think of the authors' and editors' and translators' ideas of science and reverence? This book is dogmatism run mad. Mr. R. E. Thompson, of our Philadelphia High School, says the dogmatism of skeptics is more intolerant than that of priests. Here is a proof of the truth of that assertion. Why does the author take it for granted that St. Paul enumerated all the apparitions in I. Cor., xv., and that therefore the account of the appearances to the women are only legendary? Because, forsooth, the apostle first mentions that to Peter, was there then none before that? And this is scientific! We are reminded of the Irishman who was convicted of murder on the testimony of several who saw the act, and who answered the judge, when asked if he had anything to say why he should not be sentenced, that he could bring ten times as many people who would swear they did not see him do it. See, too, the author's statement concerning the speech of Gamaliel, that "his words contain such manifest errors on the part of the historian, that all historical foundation must be denied them." And therefore what? "From this single example we are entitled to lay down the opinion that . . . the author of the Acts freely invented such speeches." Surely, we may now look for proof of this, clear and strong? No, not a word. But, it may be said, the proofs are well known to the learned. This would not be true. But even were it so, what becomes of the general reader, for whom the preface says this book is as well fitted as for the professional theologian? Surely, they are entitled to know the grounds of this extraordinary statement. These are not exaggerated extracts, but fair samples of this most ridiculous book, which we defy any one of ordinary common judgment to read without amazement at such hopeless egotism, and disgust at finding in university professors so little science. Such special pleading with so

little reverence and less logic! Putnam's Sons are likely to have much difficulty in unloading this trash on the public. We had some thought of making this and kindred books the subject of an article in the January number, but the game is not worth the powder. One who will accept the unsupported statements of this volume against the testimony of the gospel, has so little of intellect that he will believe anything he sees in print.

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OCCASIONAL SERMONS AND LECTURES. By *Rev. John M. Kiely*, Rector of the Church of the Transfiguration, Brooklyn, N. Y. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1894.

It is always a genuine pleasure to us to welcome the literary labors of the American priesthood, not only from the patriotic motive that they are our own, but also because they are a faithful reflex of the virtues which distinguish our national clergy—sober, practical sense, wide and varied experience of books and human life, and sterling zeal and piety. The pretence of being engrossed by the active work of the ministry, with which too many of our able priests seek to excuse their literary inactivity, might have been pleaded with more than ordinary justice by the hard-working builder of the Church of the Transfiguration in Brooklyn; and his present example is a clear proof of the invalidity of the excuse. In fact, the best literary work has been produced by the busiest men. Witness St. Liguori in Europe and Archbishop Kenrick in our own country. A busy man's book, with its directness of argument, its disregard of purely rhetorical ornament, and its fulness of ideas, is precisely the kind of book which appeals to a busy and practical age. We heartily recommend Father Kiely's lectures to our readers and his example to the rectors of churches.

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MISSALE ROMANUM, ETC. Editio octava juxta editionem typicam: cum approbatione S. Rit. Congr. Ratisbonæ, Neo Eboraci et Cincinnati: Sumptibus et typis Friderici Pustet. 1894. Price, bound in morocco, \$2.25.

This little volume is a triumph of typographical art. In the compass of a neat book only six inches by four, the entire contents of the Roman Missal are presented in attractive form, with beautiful illustrations and clearly legible type. The purpose of the distinguished publisher evidently has been to put into the hands of students and educated Catholics the most perfect of all prayer-books, the official book of prayer of Holy Church. As the number of those who understand the Latin tongue, at least to the extent of following the plain language of the Church's liturgy, is growing apace, the old objection against her of speaking in an unknown tongue is daily losing force. It is, in fact, a much easier solution of the language-problem, that the faithful in an "age of universal education" should learn the elements of Latin, than that the Church should be asked to change her tongue with every change of race and nationality. As we find no difficulty in making our seminarians familiar with the use of the Missal, so we shall find it an easy task to familiarize the educated laity with it. We should be much pleased to find this little volume in general use in our churches.

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JOHN LOCKE UND DIE SCHULE VON CAMBRIDGE. Von *Dr. Georg Freyherrn v. Hertling*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder (St. Louis, Mo.). 1892. Pp. xi., 392. Price, \$2.00.

This work forms an important chapter in the history of philosophy. The generally received opinion as to Locke's position in the evolution of



philosophy places him as the father of modern sensism and materialism. It may fairly be questioned whether this judgment has not been based on the elements of his system found within the first two books of his essay. A careful study of the fourth book especially reveals a phase of speculation utterly opposed to the empiricism of the earlier books—a marked intellectualism or idealism. To account for this latter element has puzzled those critics who have recognized in it as distinct a feature of Locke's thinking as is the empirical.

The author of the work before us finds Locke's idealism in the latter's relation to the Platonizing theologies of Cambridge, especially Cudworth and More, with whom he was intimately connected by various ties. Doctor Hertling gives an analysis of Locke's essay, sketches the history of the School of Cambridge, shows Locke's relation to the latter, what gave occasion to the essay, and his position as to the doctrine of innate ideas. We reserve our judgment of the author's theory for the next number of the REVIEW.

DER NEUTESTAMENTLICHE SCHRIFTKANON UND CLEMENS VON ALEXANDRIEN. Von Dr. P. Dausch. Pp. 58, large 8vo. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder. 1894. Price, 50 cents.

This able monograph, which comes to us with the approbation of the Archbishop of Freiburg, is the work of a young doctor qualifying for a professorship in the University of Munich. The author proposes to discuss, 1, The use which Clement of Alexandria made of Scripture, and, 2, the great Alexandrian's conception of Scripture as one volume and as of divine authority. While reading it, we fell to longing that some graduate of our own university would set about the production of a good popular English Introduction to Scripture which we might put into the hands of educated Catholics. It fills us with envy when we run across a solid German work like the present, and reflect that it can be purchased, bound in half cloth, for fifty cents.

OCCASIONAL ESSAYS. By the Rt. Rev. Francis Silas Chatard, D.D., Bishop of Vincennes. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1894.

In the present volume the scholarly Bishop Chatard has gathered together the articles which, during the space of a quarter of a century of a distinguished career, beginning as Rector of the American College in Rome and continuing now in one of the most important of American sees, he found time to contribute to this REVIEW and to other prominent periodicals. These articles were well received on their first appearance, and a re-reading of them confirms the favorable opinion then expressed. It is gratifying to be thus made sensible of the vast amount of really excellent literary work that is appearing in our Catholic magazines.

CAERIMONIAE MISSARUM SOLEMNIUM ET PONTIFICALIUM ALIAEQUE FUNCTIONES ECCLESIASTICAE ILLUSTRATAE: Opera Georgii Schober, C.SS.R. Ratisbonæ, Neo Eboraci et Cincinnati: Pustet. 1894. Price, bound in cloth, \$1.10.

This volume bears the approbation and warm commendation of the Bishops of Ratisbon and Laybach, and is well deserving of the double honor. We know of no other ceremonial which can compare with it in conciseness and thoroughness. All the ceremonies of solemn ecclesiastical functions, from the *missa cantata* to the solemn pontifical mass and vespers are lucidly explained in the light of the rubrics and the *Cerimoniale Episcoporum*. A copious index greatly facilitates the use of the book.

The books remaining on our table will be noticed in our next number.

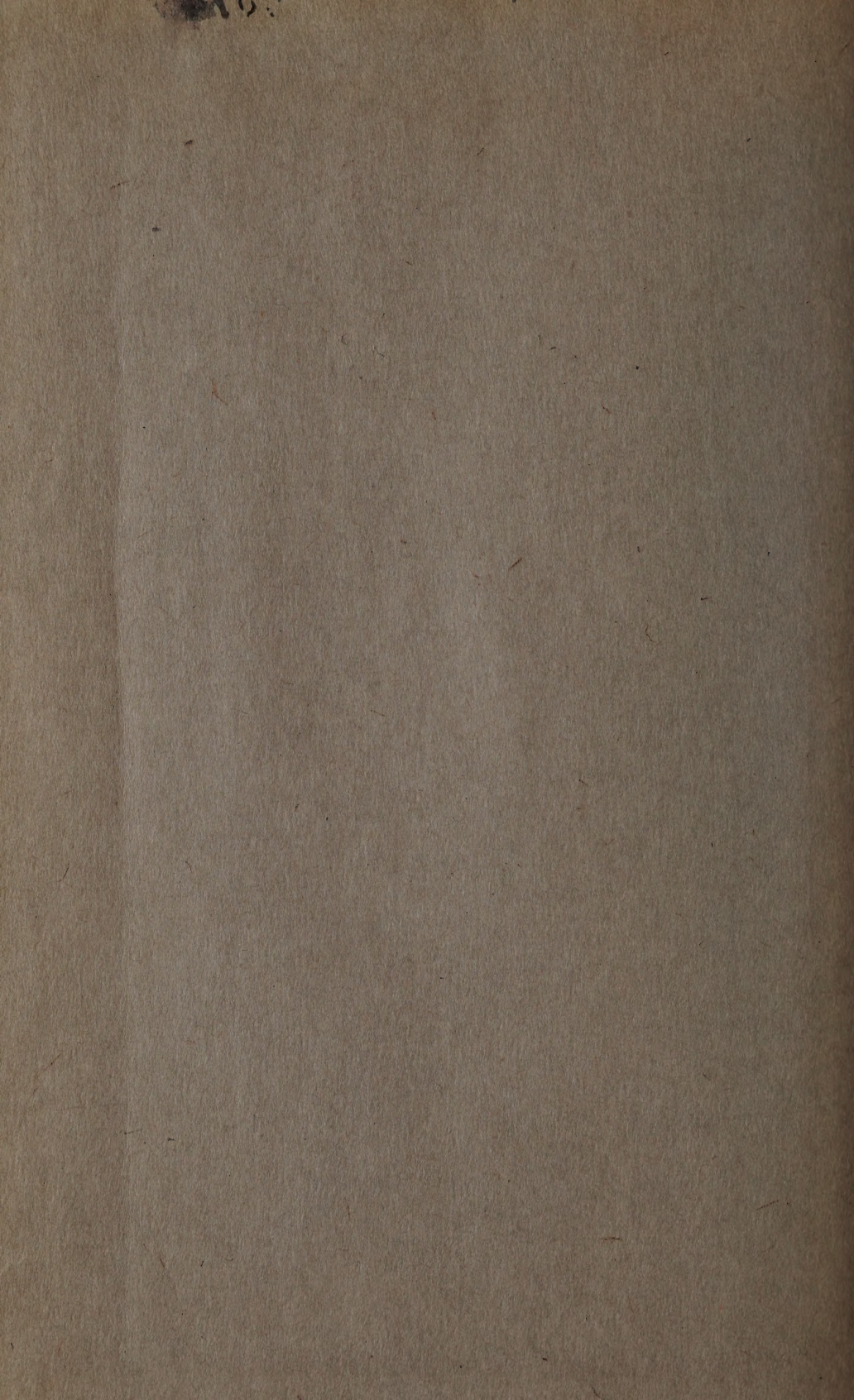














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